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CHAPTER I.

FOUNTAIN NEAR ALEPPO.

CARAVAN PREPARING TO BREAK UP THEIR ENCAMPMENT.

TRAVELS

IN

MESOPOTAMIA.

INCLUDING A

JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO BAGDAD,

BY THE ROUTE OF

BEER, ORFAH, DIARBEKR, MARDIN, & MOUSUL;

WITH RESEARCHES ON THE

RUINS OF NINEVEH, BABYLON,

AND OTHER ANCIENT CITIES.

BY J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

AUTHOR OF TRAVELS IN PALESTINE AND THE COUNTRIES EAST OF THE JORDAN; TRAVELS AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES; MEMBER OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF BOMBAY AND MADRAS, AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1827.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LADY HESTER LUCY STANHOPE,

ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST ORNAMENTS OF HER SEX AND STATION,

THIS VOLUME OF TRAVELS IN MESOPOTAMIA,

PERFORMED SOON AFTER QUITTING HER HOSPITABLE RESIDENCE IN SYRIA,

IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED, AS A MEMENTO OF THE HIGH RESPECT

AND UNAFFECTED ESTEEM

OF HER OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

In laying before the world the present account of a Journey through Mesopotamia, I feel a stronger assurance of its being acceptable to the generality of readers, than I could venture to indulge on either of the two former occasions on which I had to present to the public eye the result of my researches and observations in other countries of the East. The "Travels in Palestine" appeared under the greatest disadvantages: notwithstanding which, their success, and the almost universal commendation they obtained, was as encouraging to future labours, as flattering in its

approbation of the past. The same unfavourable circumstances continued, when the "TRAVELS AMONG THE ARAB TRIBES" succeeded: but these also met with a reception so favourable, as to make me think more lightly of the obstacles which had hitherto impeded my progress than I had before felt justified in doing.

These disadvantages no longer exist. A severe and patient investigation, extended through nearly four years, into the accumulated and reiterated charges, by which the rivals as well as enemies of my reputation had endeavoured to impress the world with an opinion of my bad faith as an author, my worthlessness as a man, and my utter incompetency as a Traveller, either to observe accurately what I heard and saw, or to describe intelligibly even the ordinary objects of curiosity or interest, has led to the most satisfactory result. Two of the individuals who first dared to give utterance to these

aspersions, have, in a British Court of Justice, voluntarily confessed their falsehood, apologized for their misconduct, and submitted to verdicts being recorded against them; and the third has been convicted, before a crowded tribunal, and a jury of his countrymen, of being a false, scandalous, and malicious libeller, by a verdict which adjudged him to pay Four Hundred Pounds damages, and his full portion of the expenses of the legal proceedings, the whole of which, on the three actions tried, are understood to be upwards of Five Thousand Pounds sterling.

The details of the origin, progress, and termination of these trials, are given, for the satisfaction of the curious, in an APPENDIX at the end of the present volume. It is here thought sufficient, therefore, merely to record the fact, in order that the reader may be satisfied, before he enters on the perusal of the present Work, that its author, whatever may be his qualifications, is at least innocent of

the charges framed and propagated by his accusers, and is worthy of the faith and confidence of his fellow-countrymen, as to the originality and fidelity of his descriptions and details. For the rest, he cheerfully submits this portion of his labours, as he has always readily done every other, to the ordeal of Public Opinion, to be neglected, censured, or approved, as its defects or merits may determine.

The circumstances under which this Journey was entered upon and completed being fully explained in the Narrative itself, it is only necessary to premise, that it was performed without the pleasure, and advantage of a European friend, companion, interpreter, servant, or attendant of any sort; that the dress, manners, and language of the country, were adopted, and continued throughout the whole of the way; and that the utmost care was taken to ensure as much accuracy as was attainable, by recording all the observations

that suggested themselves while fresh on the memory, and amid the scenes and events which gave them birth.

It would scarcely be imagined, by those who have not taken the trouble to consult the authors whose accounts of this country exist, how scanty and imperfect is the information they collectively contain on the state and condition of Mesopotamia, even at the periods in which they wrote. Whether it was, that the difficulty of penetrating across its desert tracts, which has always been considerable, occupied all the attention of travellers in providing for their personal safety—or, that journeying as subjects of a different nation, and a different faith, they were unable to escape sufficiently from the observation of those around them, to record their researches without interruption—it is not easy to determine. Perhaps both of these causes may have operated to prevent their bringing away with them the ample details which it has been my good for-

tune to amass, respecting the interior of this interesting region, through which I travelled under all the advantages of respect and confidence from those around me, and with sufficient leisure and safety to enjoy unmolested opportunities of recording whatever appeared worthy of observation, before one series of impressions was obliterated by a succeeding train of objects and thoughts.

The principal Travellers who have made Mesopotamia the scene of their wanderings, have been the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, an enterprising Jew, who, as early as the year 1170 of the Christian era, visited many countries of the East, and wrote his observations in the Hebrew tongue, from which they have been subsequently translated into two of the languages of Europe; Dr. Leonhardt Rauwolff, a German, who went, by the Euphrates, from Bir to Babylon, and returned from Bagdad to Aleppo, by land, about the year 1530; Pietro Della Valle, an Italian, who was

in that country about 1620; Otter, a Frenchman, who travelled in 1730; and the celebrated Danish engineer, Niebuhr, about thirty years later. Since this last period, now nearly a century ago, there has been no Traveller of eminence, with whose works I am acquainted, who has had any opportunity of examining the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, which strictly comprises the region of Mesopotamia; though many have passed from Constantinople, east of the latter river, through Georgia, Armenia, and Koordistan, to Bagdad and Persia.

I have reason to believe, therefore, that my account of Mesopotamia will be more ample than that of the Travellers named, as I have had an opportunity of consulting each of their works, and seeing the extent of their materials; and I am not without a hope, also, that it may be found as new and interesting, as it must be admitted to be copious and diffuse. On a country, however,

of which so little has been said by ancient travellers, and still less by modern ones, I considered that abundance, and even minuteness of detail, would be an error on the safe side; and, under this impression, I have permitted my observations, made on the way, to remain with little or no retrenchment: the opportunities of writing, which I enjoyed during this protracted journey, rendering it unnecessary to wait for further leisure, for the purpose of adding illustrations, or filling up the outline of the Narrative written on the spot. Such as the Journal of the Route was, therefore, on terminating the Journey at Bagdad, such is it now presented to the Reader; and if he should, from this state of the Narrative, be enabled to enter more readily into the views, and participate more freely in the feelings, of the writer, it cannot fail to increase the pleasure of both.

The Map of Mesopotamia, with a Sketch of

the Author's Route, has been constructed by Mr. Sidney Hall, from the original notes of bearings, distances, and time, recorded on the march; the Plan and Views of the existing Ruins of ancient Babylon are from the pencil of Mr. Rich, originally designed for his valuable and interesting Memoir, inserted in a Continental Work, under the direction of Baron von Hammer, entitled "Les Mines de l'Orient;" and the Illustrations at the Heads of Chapters, which embrace the most interesting of the many sketches taken on the journey, have been drawn on the wood by Mr W. H. Brooke, whose reputation, in this department of graphic productions, is fully maintained by his present labours, and engraved by the several individuals whose names are placed opposite the respective subjects on the list; while the peculiarly perfect manner in which the impressions are taken from the blocks, does much credit to the Printer.

Of the matter, style, and general literary

character of the Work, the Public will form their own estimate. It would be affectation in me to pretend, after the ordinary custom of the age, that I had been persuaded, by the earnest solicitations of indulgent friends, and in opposition to my own judgment, to give these materials to the world; and, on that ground, to deprecate criticism and seek shelter from scrutiny. I candidly confess, that I have been induced, by two more powerful considerations, to the execution of my task; first, the general approbation with which my former labours have been received; and secondly, the desire, which never forsakes me, of contributing—as far as my opportunities of observation, means of recording them, and capacity to render them intelligible, admit—my full share towards that accumulating stock of general instruction, which is now happily so largely drawn upon by all classes of the community, through which philanthropy and patriotism alike co-operate to encourage its diffusion. If this Offering, which I now lay

with pleasure, not unmixed with hope, on the Altar of Public Information, be acceptable to those who see, in the extension of Knowledge, the surest means of ameliorating the condition of mankind, I shall be abundantly rewarded.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Tavistock Square,
February 5, 1827.

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MAP OF MESOPOTAMIA,
with the Routes pursued by
Mr. BUCKINGHAM,
In his Travels from Aleppo across the Tigris and Euphrates,
TO ORFAH, DIARBEKR,
Mardin, Mousul and Bagdad,
Including all the halting places of the Caravan, and the
positions of the several ruined Cities of Antiquity
found in that route,
FROM UR OF THE CHALDEES
to Nineveh and Babylon.
English Miles
ASIA MINOR
Mount Taurus
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
ALEPPO
TRIPOLI
DAMASCUS
PALESTINE
ACCHA
MESOPOTAMIA
DIARBEKR
ORFAH
MOUSUL
Arabian Desert
Desert of Sinjar
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Dead Sea
JERUSALEM
Jaffa
Tripoli
Palmyra
Homs
Hhamah
Sinjar
Jezeereh
Nisibeen
Mardin
Ras-el Ain
Harran
Anna or Anah
Hadith
Hit
Tekrit
Kerkook
Samarra
El Arish
Karak

TRAVELS

IN

MESOPOTAMIA.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO TO THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES.

After a long and perilous journey from Egypt, through Palestine, Syria, and the untravelled countries East of the Jordan and Orontes, I enjoyed a repose of some days, in the city of Aleppo: from whence, however, I soon prepared again to depart for the equally interesting regions of Mesopotamia, on my progress to the farther East. The state of the city itself was, at this period, sufficiently tranquil; but the whole of the sur-

rounding country was in a state of turbulent commotion, so that travelling, either singly or in small parties, was impossible, without imminent risk of plunder, and perhaps destruction; and the difficulty of assembling sufficient numbers, to form a caravan of strength enough to force a passage through the Desert, was such as to leave little hope of that being accomplished till the return of more tranquil times. It was in the month of May, 1816, that hostilities had broken out between the Anazie Arabs, and another tribe, each belonging to the great division of this people which had embraced the new and reforming doctrines of the Wahābees, a sect of deistical puritans, who had, for some time past, disturbed the peace of Arabia, by their conversions and their wars. The immediate cause of this rupture was stated to be this: that one of the warm-blooded sons of Mahānna, the great Chief of the Anazies, who assumed to himself the title of Sultan of the Desert, had stolen away, by force, from a neighbouring camp, a beautiful virgin, of whom, at first sight, as is not uncommon with Orientals, he had become passionately enamoured. This Trojan treachery had roused the whole of the sur-

rounding country to arms: and the most romantic tales of heroism, love, and self-devotion, with all the exaggerations which Eastern fancies give to such traits of character, were repeated by every tongue, and greedily drank in by every ear.

As a detail of preparations for a journey through rarely frequented countries is not only beneficial to those who may contemplate pursuing the same route at any future period, but instructive to all who desire to see the modes of thinking and the manners of acting, which prevail in distant countries, exhibited in the freshness of their original colouring; and to be transported, as it were, to the immediate scene, so as to become a co-spectator and a co-actor, as far as sympathy can effect this, with the Traveller himself, this detail will be given, and will serve at once to introduce to the reader's attention the characters in whose society, and the circumstances under which, the Journey about to be described was undertaken.

The great regular caravan from Aleppo to Bagdad, across the Syrian Desert, was not expected to leave the former city until September; but a smaller one had been formed,

for the purpose of going, by a more circuitous route, to Mardin, and Mousul on the Tigris. This caravan was, indeed, now on the point of departure. Mr. Vigoroux, a French gentleman, recently appointed consul for Bussorah, in the Persian Gulph, and whom I had seen some months before at Alexandria, in Egypt, had gone by the same way not more than ten days before my arrival at Aleppo; but accounts had already reached this, of certain arbitrary demands being made on him, as a Frank or European traveller, by the governors of the different stations on the road; and Mr. Barker, the British Consul at this city, spoke also of the route by Mardin and Mousul being extremely troublesome and vexatious on account of such exactions, of which he had heard much during his residence here.

My anxiety to enter upon the journey, and the faint prospect which presented itself of any better occasion, determined me, however, to accept this, whatever might be its disadvantages. I accordingly obtained an introduction to a merchant of Mousul, named Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, who was returning by this caravan to his native city, with merchandize from the pilgrimage at Mecca. For

the respect which, as he said, he bore the English nation, from having always traded with them until the decline of their commerce at Aleppo, he consented to admit me into his party, the only condition exacted of me being, that I should conform myself, in every respect, to his advice and direction, and take no servant of my own to disturb the good understanding of his personal dependants. This was readily assented to, and it was stipulated, that I should furnish my horse and its trappings only, and for the rest, that I should be considered, in every respect, as one of the Hadjee's own family, as well for our general security from interruption on the road, as for my own comfort, which was likely to be much increased by my being placed on this familiar footing.

As it was thought that Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was a person of too great respectability to accept for himself any sum of money, as a compensation for this favor, it was agreed between Mr. Barker the Consul, on my part, and the Hadjee's Factor at Aleppo, that I should give, before our departure, the sum of 150 piastres to the chief camel-driver of the Hadjee's party, who would put my small

portion of baggage among the merchandize of his master, to be free from examination and prying curiosity, so that I should have nothing but my horse to look after; and, on my safe arrival at Mousul, it would be sufficient to make some handsome acknowledgement to the Hadjee himself, proportionate to the service he might have rendered me, with a proper distribution of presents among such of his servants as had been attentive and useful to me on the way.

My dress and arms were like those of his nephew, Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef, a young man of twenty-five, who had accompanied his venerable uncle on the pilgrimage. The former consisted of the blue cloth sherwal, jubba, and benish, of the Arab costume; a large overhanging tarboosh, or red cap, falling over the neck and shoulders behind; a white muslin turban, and a red silk sash: the latter, of a Damascus sabre, a Turkish musket, small carbine, and pistols, with ammunition for each. The conveniences borne on my own horse were, a pipe and tobacco-bag, a metal drinking cup, a pocket-compass, memorandum books, and ink-stand, on one side of a pair of small khoordj, or Eastern travelling-bags; and on

the other, the maraboot, or chain-fastenings and irons for securing the horse, by spiking him at night to the earth, on plains where there are no shrubs or trees. A small Turkey carpet, which was to serve for bed, for table, and for prayers; and a woollen cloak for a coverlid during the cold nights, in which we should have to repose on the ground, without covering or shelter, were rolled up behind the seat of the saddle with straps; and my equipment, for any length of route, was thus thought to be complete. The supplies I had taken with me for the journey, included a bill of exchange for 6000 piastres (then about 100*l.* sterling) on a merchant at Bagdad; and nearly 2000 piastres in small gold coin, which, with such papers as I considered of importance to me, I carried concealed in an inner girdle round my waist, called, by the people, a khummr, and generally used for this purpose, as it cannot be lost, or taken from a traveller, without his being absolutely stripped.

All my own arrangements being completed, I took leave of Mr. Barker's family about noon, and, accompanied by his son, and one of his native assistants, named Nahoom, we assembled, with the friends of Hadjee Abd-el-

Rakhmān, at a fountain on the public road, about a mile from Mr. Barker's country residence, in the environs of Aleppo. Having taken coffee here together, as a pledge of our future union, and watered our horses, we remounted and set out on our way. The friends of each party still accompanied us for a few miles on the road, when, at last, our final separation took place, with many warm and friendly adieus, and we now felt ourselves to be fairly on our journey.

Our route lay nearly north, along the eastern edge of the river of Aleppo, which ran on our left. The only appearance of verdure seen about its banks, is that created by the winding course of the stream itself, the borders of which are fringed with trees and gardens, very thickly planted. Beyond its immediate banks, the soil is dry, and the hills bare and stoney throughout the whole of the way to its source, which we reached about sun-set. Here several winding streams, all rising from the same spring, watered a small hollow plain in which a Turcoman horde was encamped.

The form and arrangement of the tents of these people, and the general aspect of the

whole of their camp, was extremely different from that of the Arabs, among whom I had so recently sojourned. With the latter, it is the custom to have their tents mostly of an oblong form, closed on three sides, and open on the fourth; made altogether of hair cloth; and the several tents generally arranged in the form of a great circle, for the sake of preventing the escape of the animals confined within its limits. Here, among the Turcomans, the form of most of the tents seemed nearly round, instead of oblong, with a small door of entrance, instead of one entirely open front; or, when otherwise, it was open only at one of the narrow ends, and not at the side, with an awning, or porch, at the door-way. The roofs of these tents were the only parts formed of hair cloth (of which material the tents of the Desert Arabs are entirely made); the sides of these of the Turcomans being formed of matted reeds. Neither was there any order in the arrangement of the tents themselves, as they were scattered quite at random over the plain. Besides goats and camels, the usual inmates of these camps, there were here an abundance of sheep, asses, bullocks, horses, and even buffaloes and fowls; animals which belong only

to a stationary life, and which marked the people among whom they were found, as of less wandering habits than their southern neighbours, the Arabs. They were, indeed, a stouter and better-fed race; and even their dogs, the guardians of their camps, were larger, more hairy, and, altogether, characterized by the greater abundance amidst which both they and their masters lived.

In our way from Aleppo thus far, we had passed several ruined villages, leaving them all on our left, and had remarked that the houses were distinguished by a high pointed dome of brick-work, rising from the square of their base. We lost sight of these, however, as we ascended from this place of encampment over a bare rising ground, and then gradually sunk our level by a very slow descent.

As it was now dark, and so cloudy that even the stars were hidden from our view, we soon lost the beaten track, and wandered about to the right and left, according to the directing voice which for the moment prevailed. It was in this state of confusion that we were alarmed by a sudden shout from persons whom we could not yet perceive; and this being suspected to be a signal of attack upon our party,

we closed our ranks, and rushed forward together to receive it. Two muskets were discharged at us, but their balls passed without wounding any person, though not without being returned threefold by our party, seemingly with as little execution. This display of vigilance had the effect, however, of repressing any future attempt; and the men who were seen, heading the attack, speedily dispersed and fled.

It was nearly midnight before we reached the great body of the caravan; and we then only discovered its place of encampment, by sending off one of our own party to each of the four quarters of the horizon, to shout and discharge a musket, which being at length heard, the returning of the signal directed us to the spot.

We found a tent erected for the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and his suite, in which the embers of a fire were still burning; when, taking shelter beneath it, we were welcomed by a cup of coffee and the congratulations of friends, and sank, soon after, to repose.

May 28th.—Every individual of the caravan was seen stirring with the earliest dawn;

and as this was the first morning of our departure from a station beyond the town, a considerable degree of bustle prevailed among the servants and camel-drivers, and an equal anxiety among the merchants or owners of the property embarked, to see it safely laden, and to take care that nothing remained behind.

At sun-rise we were all in motion, to the number, perhaps, of four hundred camels, which was thought rather a small caravan : the asses, mules, and horses that accompanied it, might amount to another hundred; and the whole number of persons, including men, women, and children, were about three hundred at least.

Our course had been nearly north, throughout the whole of the preceding day, but it now bent towards the north-east, in pursuing which direction we reached, in an hour after setting out, a village called Oktereen. There was a smaller one, about a mile to the north of it, which bore the same name, and both were at this moment inhabited by peasants who cultivated rich corn lands on a fine red soil, and of great extent. The style of building in both of these villages, like that of the ruined ones we had already passed, was remarkable, each separate dwelling having a high pointed dome

of unburnt bricks, raised on a square fabric of stone; so that, at a little distance, they resembled a cluster of bee-hives on square pedestals.

In the village through which we passed, was a khan or caravanserai of Mohammedan construction, and good masonry, though now seldom resorted to by travellers. Near it was a high round eminence, enclosed by a circular wall, formed of very large masses of unhewn stone, rudely put together without cement. This is called the Castle, but over all the hill there appear no other vestiges of building than this, which I should consider to be a work of the very earliest ages of antiquity. The stones are, in general, much too large to be moved by mere manual labour, estimating the strength of man at its present standard; and yet one would conceive, that if the people, by whom they were placed here, used the aid of any instruments for that purpose, they would also have hewn them into regular forms, for additional strength. But, like most other works of ancient labour, the very simplicity of their construction excites problems the most difficult of solution.

Near the foot of the hill, but without its

wall of enclosure, are deep wells, containing excellent water, of which we drank, as we passed, from the pitchers of some women of the neighbourhood. The vessels used by them are broad at the bottom, narrow at the top, and about two feet high, with a thick handle on each side. They are all of copper, tinned within and without; nor did we see a single vessel of earthenware among them. The dress of the females was mostly of blue cotton cloth; some of the younger girls were pretty, and all had fairer and more ruddy complexions than we had lately been accustomed to see.

From hence, the high range of Mount Taurus was visible on our left, to the north-west, and seemed to be nearly in a line with our route, or to run in a north-east and south-west direction. Many of its rugged summits were covered with snow; and from their appearance, as they intercepted our horizon but slightly in that quarter, it was evident that our own level was also a very elevated one.

While halting at the well of Oktereen, there came to drink a poor ass of our own caravan, who had lost from the thickest part of his thighs behind, between the knee and the tail, at least an English pound of flesh from

each, and yet still walked freely, without any apparent suffering. The blood remained clotted in streams below the wounds; and, on inquiry, it appeared that he had been torn in this manner, only two nights before, by a hyæna, while the caravan was encamped at Hailān, a few hours' distance from Aleppo. Bruce's account of the Abyssinians cutting steaks from a live ox, sewing up the wound, and driving the beast on his journey, had always, until now, appeared to me difficult of belief; not from the cruelty of the act, for that would weigh but little with people of their character, but from my conceiving that no animal could, after being so treated, pursue its march. Here, however, I saw before me a similar fact, one which I confess surprised me, but to which I could not refuse credence, as it was confirmed by the evidence of my senses.

In an hour from Oktereen, we came to another village of the same name, each of these being called by that of the district in which they stand. The pointed dome-tops to the dwellings were now no longer seen, all the houses being flat-roofed, with terraces. As we stopped at this place to drink milk, we had

an opportunity of seeing the method followed by its inhabitants in making butter. The milk is first put into a goat's skin, without being scalded, and a small space is left in this for air and motion; the skin is then hung by cords to a peg in the side of the wall, or suspended to a sort of sheers, formed by three poles, in the open court; it is then pushed to and fro, until its motion in the skin shall have been sufficient to churn it; when the watery part is thrown off, and the thick part stirred by the hand until it becomes of the oiliness and consistency required.* Such of the women as we saw here were really handsome; all of them were unveiled, and displayed blooming complexions and agreeable features, not disfigured by stains of any kind. As an additional charm, they were remarkably clean and well dressed, with white or red trowsers, white upper garments, wreaths of gold coin across

* The Bedouin Arabs practise the same method.—"Dans une peau de chèvre, encore garnie de ses poils, ils mettent le lait, comme dans une outre. Une femme Bedouine, après avoir fortement noué les deux bouts, et suspendu le tout à une branche d'arbre, en secouant l'outre de toute sa force, parvient à faire le beurre."—CASTELLAN, *Mœurs des Ottomans*. t. vi. p. 60.

their foreheads, and their long black hair hanging in tresses over their shoulders.

In an hour from hence, we came again to a small elevation, which had seemingly been once enclosed with a wall around its base, it being now covered with narrow blocks of stone. These, however, were well hewn, and of a much smaller size than those described at Oktereen, though probably, like that mound, this might have been the site of some old fortress of a later age.

It was about noon when we reached a wide plain, in which were encamped a horde of Turcomans, to the number of about five hundred tents; and near these it was decided that we should take up our station for the night. It was on entering this plain, that we first began to perceive the black porous basalt so common in the Haurān, lying here, however, in rounded and detached masses, thickly placed, like those in the plain between Hhoms and Hhussan, and in the vallies of the Orontes and the Jordan. Our present position was nearly in the same meridian of longitude as the Haurān, though it is on a higher level; and there was a general resemblance between its soil and stones, except that the latter are here in detached or insu-

lated masses, while to the south they are principally in continuous ridges of rock.

When our tents were pitched, we could see, from the place of our encampment, the range of Taurus to the west-north-west of us. Its highest part, which, in general form, was thought to resemble Lebanon near the Cedars, was covered with snow. It now bore from us west by north, three quarters north, distant about fifty miles, and preserved nearly the same appearance from hence, as it presents to the traveller approaching Aleppo from the west.

The place of our encampment was called Chamoorly, from a ruined Mahommedan village of that name. In this village, besides many dwellings of stone, were the remains of a mosque with pointed arches, its southern niche for prayer still perfect. Between it, and the spot on which our halt was made, rose a high, steep, and round hill, larger than either of those we had yet passed, though, like them, it was apparently artificial. Around its base were scattered blocks of black stone, probably used in its wall of enclosure, now destroyed, and marking it as having been a fortified post. These stones were all of the basaltic kind, and

the greater number of them were stuck endwise into the ground, like the perpendicular head-pieces of modern sepulchres in England.

Before us, we had an extensive plain, watered by a small stream near our halting-place, and covered with the richest pasture. In the distance, the mountains shewed their blue and pointed summits; and as the sky was clear, the northern wind fresh, and the climate as delightfully pure and healthy as could be wished, our situation united many charms.

Among the diversions of the afternoon, we caught a beautiful bird, about the size of a turtle dove, called, in Arabic, "Ghatter." It had a white breast, with dark bands across it; a granivorous beak, and a large black spot descending from the root of the beak downward on the throat; fine yellowish-red eyes, and small head; wings speckled with brown and white above, and of the purest white beneath; with a fine tail, similarly speckled as to colour, but with smaller spots and a long thin feather growing out of its centre, at least a foot and a half beyond the rest.

A lamb was killed for supper, and, for the morrow, we purchased from some shepherds near us, a fine fat sheep for a gold roobeah, or

about half an English crown. We entertained some pilgrims at our tent, who were from the eastern parts of Afghanistan, and who had come all the way from thence by land to go to Mecca. One of them was from Cashmeer, and one from Lahore, the only places I recognised by name; and several of them spoke Hindoostanee, in which language I was able to converse with them, much to their joy and satisfaction. As they went onward to Aleppo, I profited by their departure, to send letters by way of that city to England.

Our tent was struck, and every thing packed up at sun-set to be ready for instant departure in the morning. At supper, we had a party of fifteen persons besides the servants, all of them apparently fed, during the journey, by the hospitable Hadjee. When the new moon appeared, all the Moslems offered up a short prayer at the first sight of this auspicious guide, for which they have a strongly religious, as well as poetical and romantic veneration.

We slept in the open air beneath a starry canopy of unusual brilliance; and the purity of the atmosphere, with the sweet odour of the fresh young grass, was such as to make even perfumed halls and downy couches inferior by

the contrast. The servants, who had slept during the day, were destined to watch in the night; and the horses and mules were all brought within a circle, formed by the camels kneeling around, to secure them from the Turcomans of the neighbouring camp.

May 29th.—Our departure was as early as on the preceding day, and we now directed our course nearly east over the plain. At sunrise, we came to some artificial caves in a rock on our left, probably ancient places of burial; and, at intervals of about an hour each, we passed three ruined villages, the dwellings of which were generally of sun-burnt brick, with some few of black stones, and the houses all flat-roofed.

At nine, we reached Shahaboor, a large inhabited village; and, as the caravan passed directly through it, most of the passengers halted without alighting, when all who desired it were served by the villagers with bowls of lebben, or curdled sour milk. As far as I could perceive, this was an act of pure hospitality, for which no payment was either asked or offered; though, if frequently repeated, it must form a heavy charge on those who exercise it.

The men at this place were dressed nearly as in those through which we had already passed. The women wore on their heads the large red Syrian tarboosh, the loose part overhanging before, while the men permit it to fall behind. These Turcoman females were much better dressed than the Arab women ever are; some of them having red and others white trowsers; striped silk upper robes, gold ornaments about their head, their hair hanging in long tresses, as in the towns; and their whole appearance neat and interesting. The language used here was Turkish; and, indeed, scarcely any other was heard in the caravan, as the Arabs speak Turkish much more frequently than the Turks do Arabic, from the superior ranks of the military and the government being filled by Turks, who are too proud and too indolent to learn; while the necessities of the others compel them to acquire the language of their masters.

We had scarcely left Shahaboor an hour behind us, before we were alarmed by a troop of horsemen making towards the caravan, in full speed, from the southward. The camels were widely scattered, so much so, that there seemed to be a distance of nearly two miles

between their extremes. The design of the enemy being to attack and cut off the rear, all who were mounted rushed towards that quarter, leaving only the men on foot, who were armed, to protect the other parts. The enemy checked their horses, advanced, retreated, wheeled, and manœuvred on the plain, with great skill; and, as they were all mounted on very beautiful animals, it formed as fine a display of horsemanship as I had ever witnessed.

On the other hand, nothing could exceed the confusion and disorder which prevailed in our train. As there was no acknowledged leader, a hundred voices were heard at once, all angry at not being attended to; the women and children shrieked, the asses brayed at the noise of other animals, and the men set up the wildest shouts of defiance. When our enemies, however, betrayed fear, it was the moment chosen by those attacked, to affect courage; and, accordingly, all who were dismounted, young and old, came out from among the camels, behind which they had before taken shelter: and those who had muskets without powder, of which there were several, borrowed a charge or two of their neighbours, and idly wasted it in the air. There were at least two

hundred balls discharged in this way, in the course of the hour that the Turcomans harassed us by changing their apparent point of attack, and flying round us with the velocity of the wind.

This skirmish had, at least, the effect of exciting exaggerated ideas of our force, and of inducing the enemy to abandon their design, though they were twice near enough for us to distinguish their features, or within short pistol-shot; but, from the rapidity of their movements, they all escaped unhurt. Their number, as nearly as we could estimate them, seemed to be about fifty; all well mounted, and armed with a short lance, a musket, pistols, and sabre. Had they persevered in their original design, and not given us time to form, their success would have been easy: for, in the whole of our party, we did not muster more than a hundred stand of arms; and these were so disunited, and so unskilfully used, that they must have failed in repelling, though they might have annoyed, the attacking force. The alarm, however, was in some degree a benefit, as it occasioned the straggling individuals of the caravan to keep closer order; for, before this, each seemed to follow his own pace,

without reference to the general security, and undisturbed by any thought of danger.

In about an hour from the time of this predatory troop quitting us, we passed through a small village on an elevation, from the heights of which the women and children were viewing the attack. As there was not a single man to be seen among them, and they seemed to avoid our salutes, they were, most probably, the wives and daughters of the horsemen themselves, of whom this eminence was, perhaps, merely a temporary habitation.

It was noon when we reached a small village, of a round form, called Waadi Sajoor, through which wound a full stream, of the same name, about fifty feet wide, and so deep as to be scarcely fordable. The whole of this district was cultivated with corn, and several small villages were seen scattered over it.

As we halted for a moment to water, and to collect the animals in close order, on the opposite side of the stream, most of the people gave loose to their joy, and triumphed in their late escape. In the expression of these feelings, some danced with their naked swords and khandjars, or dirks, in their hands, singing the wildest songs at the time, like the guards

of the Dolas, or chiefs of the Arab towns in the Yemen, when they precede their Governors in their march;* and others discharged their pieces in the air. This display of warlike disposition at length terminated in occa-

* The habit of chaunting rude songs, on occasions of joy or of danger, has, we find, prevailed, from the remotest antiquity, among all barbarous nations. Tacitus, speaking of the ancient Germans, has the following passage:—"The Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called Bards. With this barbarous poetry, they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event, from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chaunting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs; it is rather a furious uproar—a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh; at intervals, interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and, by the repercussion, bursting out with redoubled force."—*Manners of the Germans. Murphy's Translation.* Xenophon likewise relates, in the Fourth Book of the Anabasis, that, on an occasion of rejoicing, the Mosynœcians, a barbarous people on the Euxine, expressed their satisfaction by dancing and singing in a wild manner:—"Cutting off the heads of the slain, they shewed them both to the Greeks and to the Mosynœcians, their enemies (the nation was divided into two hostile tribes); dancing, at the time, and singing a particular tune."

sioning two or three frays in the caravan, by exciting disputes, as to who had been the foremost and the bravest among them, in repelling the late attack: the consequences were serious, for not less than five persons were, more or less, hurt or wounded in this affair among friends; though not one had received any injury in the attack of the enemy.

On leaving the Waadi Sajoor, and ascending a gentle hill, we continued, again, our easterly course, over plains of great extent and fertility, seeing, to the north of us, low chalky hills, and losing sight of the range of Mount Taurus altogether.

About one o'clock we reached a small village called Zemboor, near which we halted on an elevated ground, and encamped for the night, for the sake of the supply of water, which the wells here afforded us. There were, at this place, nearly as many tents as houses. The chief himself dwelt in one of the former, of a very large size, supported by sixteen small poles, in four rows of four each, the points of which thrusting up the roof, appear like so many Chinese domes. In front of this, was an open place of reception for

strangers, and behind it the apartment for females, enclosed all around by a partition of reeds, sewn together by black worsted, in crossed diagonal lines. The tent, and its outer porch, were furnished with beds, cushions, and carpets. The language used here was Turkish; the Arabic being scarcely understood.

As the disposition for feats of arms still reigned among the greater number of our companions, and weapons of some kind were in almost every one's hands, several parties were formed for hunting and shooting, instead of prosecuting further quarrels among each other. By the camel-drivers of our own party, we had a ghazelle brought to us from the plain. It was dressed for supper, and partaken of by many more than our own immediate circle, from its being as highly esteemed here as game is in England. Its flesh was dark, and of a strong taste and smell, but it was much relished by all present.

May 30th.—Our departure was delayed until the day was fairly opened, the alarm of yesterday not having yet subsided. As there was no Director of the caravan, and every one followed his own way, some were in

motion earlier and others later than usual, probably both from the same motive of fear; so that, from front or rear, the opposite end of the long line of the camels was scarcely discernible.

In less than an hour after commencing our march, we passed a village about half a mile on our left; and half an hour further on, we came to a similar one, on the side of an artificial hill, both of them having brick-built houses, white-washed on the outside. In another hour we reached a third village, the people of which sold dried black raisins and tobacco, by the way-side, to the passengers of the caravan, and gave, liberally, of milk and lebben, to all who desired it.

About nine o'clock, we reached a fourth village, larger than the rest, where we halted for the rear of the caravan to come up with us. We alighted at the tent of the Chief, for here, as in many of the other villages that we had passed, the tents were almost as numerous as the houses, and formed by far the most comfortable dwellings. The whole of these settlements were called by the general name of Barak, from the plain on which they stood, and were all inhabited by Turkish peasants,

who cultivated a fertile soil, which now promised them an abundant harvest.

This great Plain, as it is called, was under the direction of the Sheikh, who received the tax from his people, and paid it to the Pasha of Aleppo, and who pitched his tent at different periods near all the villages and wells of his territory in succession. When we alighted at his tent-door, our horses were taken from us by his son, a young man well dressed in a scarlet cloth benish, and a shawl of silk for a turban. The Sheikh, his father, was sitting beneath the awning in front of the tent itself, and when we entered, rose up to receive us, exchanging the salute of welcome, and not seating himself until all his guests were accommodated.

The tent occupied a space of about thirty feet square, and was formed by one large awning, supported by twenty-four small poles in four rows of six each, the ends of the awning being drawn out by cords fastened to pegs in the ground. Each of these poles giving a pointed form to the part of the awning which it supported, the outside looked like a number of umbrella tops, or small Chinese spires. The half of this square was open in front and at

the sides, having two rows of poles clear, and the third was closed by a reeded partition, behind which was the apartment for the females, surrounded entirely by the same kind of matting.

It thus gave a perfect outline of the most ancient temples, and as these tents were certainly still more ancient as dwellings of men, if not as places of worship to gods, than any buildings of stone, it struck me forcibly on the spot, as a probable model from which the first architectural works of these countries were taken. We had here an open portico of an oblong form, with two rows of columns of six each in front, and the third engaged in the wall that enclosed the body of the tent all around; the first corresponding to the porticoes of temples; and the last, as well in its design as in the sacredness of its appropriation, to the sanctuaries of the most remote antiquity.*

The Sheikh, whose name was Ramadān, was an old man of eighty, of fine features, combining the characteristics of the Turkish

* See the representations of the primitive huts, in Vitruvius.

and Arabic race, with large expressive eyes. His complexion was darker than that of the people of Yemen, though somewhat less so than that of the common order of Abyssinians, and this was strongly contrasted by a long beard of silvery white. His divan was spread out with mats and cushions, covered with silk: his dress and arms were plain, yet of the best qualities of their kind; before his tent were two fine mares, well caparisoned, and every thing about his establishment wore an appearance of wealth and comfort.

Others of the caravan, seeing us halted here as they passed, alighted likewise, and took their seats without invitation, all being received with the same welcome salute, until the party amounted to twenty-six in number. While we were talking of the Turcomans, who had alarmed us on our way, a meal was preparing within; and soon afterwards, warm cakes baked on the hearth, cream, honey, dried raisins, butter, lebben, and wheat boiled in milk, were served to the company. Neither the Sheikh himself nor any of his family partook with us, but stood around, to wait upon their guests, though among those who sat down to eat, were two Indian fakīrs, or

beggars, a Christian pilgrim from Jerusalem, and the slaves and servants of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, all dipping their fingers into the same dish. Coffee was served to us in gilded china cups, and silver stands or finjans, and the pipes of the Sheikh and his son were filled and offered to those who had none.

If there could be traced a resemblance between the form of this tent, and that of the most ancient buildings of which we have any knowledge, our reception there no less exactly corresponded to the picture of the most ancient manners, of which we have any detail. When the three angels are said to have appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre, he is represented, as sitting in the tent-door in the heat of the day.* "And when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and bowed himself towards the ground." "And Abraham hastened *into* the tent, unto Sarah, and said, 'Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth.' And he took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them, and he *stood by them*

* See Genesis, chap. 18, where the interview is described.

under the tree, and they did eat." When inquiry was made after his wife, he replied, "Behold, she is *in* the tent." And when it was promised him, that Sarah should have a son, it is said, "And Sarah heard in the tent-door, which was *behind* him." The angels are represented, as merely passengers in their journey, like ourselves: for the rites of hospitality were shewn to them, *before* they had made their mission known. At first sight they were desired to halt and repose, to wash their feet, as they had apparently walked, and rest beneath the tree, while bread should be brought them to comfort their hearts. "And after that," said the good old Patriarch, "shall ye pass on, for *therefore* are ye come unto your servant;" so that the duty of hospitality to strangers seems to have been as well and as mutually understood in the earliest days, as it is in the same country at present.

The form of Abraham's tent, as thus described, seems to have been exactly like the one in which we sit; for in both, there was a shaded open front, in which he could sit in the heat of the day, and yet be seen from afar off; and the apartment of the females, where Sarah was, when he stated her to be *within* the

tent, was immediately *behind* this, wherein she prepared the meal for the guests, and from whence she listened to their prophetic declaration.

I have noted these points of resemblance, chiefly because the tents of the Turcomans here are different from all those of the Arabs that I have ever seen in the countries of the south: these latter being of an oblong form, and divided in the middle, so as to form two compartments by the side of each other, both of them open in front, and closed at the back and sides, but without either a shaded porch or door before them, or an apartment of any kind behind.

The Turcomans, on the borders of Turkey, seem to hold the same position as the Bedouins on the borders of Syria. They dwell chiefly in the plains, south of the range of Mount Taurus, and extend from the sea-coast, near Antioch, to the borders of the Euphrates. They are, however, more wealthy than the Arabs, from having richer pastures, and more numerous flocks, and from being cultivators, as well as shepherds. They are, therefore, also more fixed in their stations, and live both in tents and in villages. There are among them

peculiar tribes, as among the Arabs, some remaining almost stationary, and others mounted on fleet mares, scouring the plains, and living more by depredations on caravans, and even on single passengers, than by agriculture or pastoral labours.

Some of their customs and opinions are too singular and peculiar to be passed over in silence. Their horror of a certain indiscretion is said to be so great, that the most violent pains, occasioned by a suppression of it, will not induce them to commit so heinous an offence. Mr. Maseyk, formerly the Dutch Consul of Aleppo, related to me, that being once on a journey with another Frank, of the same city, they halted at a Turcoman's tent. The latter, from fatigue, a hearty meal, and a cramped attitude, had the misfortune to be unable to prevent the sudden escape of a noise loud enough to be heard. Every one looked with astonishment on each other, and, from that moment, shunned communication with the offender. About four years after this event, one of the men who were of this party, coming to Aleppo on business, called on Mr. Maseyk, when, by accident, his friend was with him. The Turcoman blushed on recognizing

this disgraced individual, when Mr. Maseyk, asking him if he had known him before, he replied with indignation, " Yes, is it not the wretch who defiled our tent ?"*

Their custom of curing a fever, is to sew the patient tightly up in the hot skin of an ox, freshly flayed for the occasion ; afterwards to cover him with blankets and carpets, and then, sometimes, even to sit upon him until he is in danger of suffocation. It often happens, however, from the strength of his constitution, that the patient recovers even after this rude treatment.

Their women, who are in general fair, ruddy, and handsome, neither disfigure themselves by blue stains, nor veil themselves, after the manner of the Arabs. The jealousy of the

* D'Arvieux and Niebuhr both allude to this singular trait of manners among the Arabs. The latter, in his " Description de l'Arabie," 4to. p. 27, gives a very extraordinary anecdote of an opposite kind : but he adds, in alluding to the general abhorrence excited by this indiscretion, or offence, —" Dans quelques tribus entre Basra et Hálep l'impolitesse dont je parle est si choquante, que celui à qui elle échappe une fois, sert pour toujours de jeu et de risée aux autres : on assure même, qu'un des *Bellûdsjes*, sur les frontières de Perse, fut contraint de quitter sa tribu par cette seule raison."

men, regarding their honour, is, however, still stronger. Mr. Maseyk, who, it should be added, is a Dutch merchant of the highest respectability, and has resided at Aleppo for forty years, and made journeys through every part of the surrounding country, told me an instance in proof of this, which I should scarcely have believed, if I had not heard it from his own mouth.

Two young persons of the same tribe, loved each other, and were betrothed in marriage: their passion was open and avowed, and known to all their friends, who had consented to their union, and even fixed the period for its celebration. It happened, one evening, that they met, accidentally, alone, but in sight of all the tents: they stopped a moment to speak to each other; and were on the point of passing on, when the brothers of the girl perceiving it, rushed out, with arms in their hands, to avenge their disgrace. The young man took to flight, and escaped with a musket-wound; but the poor girl received five balls in her body, besides being mangled by the daggers of her own brothers, who had aimed to plunge them in her heart; and, when she fell, they abandoned her carcase to the dogs!

The young man gained the tent of a powerful friend, the chief of another tribe, encamped near them, and told his story; begging that he would assist him with a troop of horse, to enable him to rescue the body of his love from its present degradation. He went, accompanied by some of his own people, and found life still remaining. He then repaired to the tent of her enraged brothers, and asked them why they had done this? They replied, that they could not suffer their sister to survive the loss of her honour, which had been stained by her stopping to talk with her intended husband, on the public road, before her marriage. The lover demanded her body for burial; when her brothers, suspecting the motive, exclaimed, "What, is she not yet lifeless?—then we will finish this work of death;" and were rushing out to execute their purpose, when the youth caused the troop of horsemen, sent to aid his purpose, to appear, and threatened instant death to him who should first stir to interrupt his design. The young girl was conveyed to his tent, and, after a series of kind attentions, slowly recovered.

During her illness, the distracted lover, now expelled from his own tribe, came, under cover

of the night, to see her; and, weeping over her wounds, continually regretted that he had been so base as to seek his safety in flight, and not to have died in defending her. She as heroically replied, "No! No! It is my highest happiness that I have suffered, and that you have escaped; we shall both live, and Heaven will yet bless us with many pledges of our lasting love." This really happened; the girl recovered, was married to her impassioned swain, and they are still both alive, with a numerous family of children.

So romantic a tale of love, jealousy, revenge, fidelity, and heroism, would have been incredible, were it not that all the parties were known to Mr. Maseyk, who related it; that he did so in the presence of many other persons born in Aleppo, and acquainted, by report, with the fact; and that the veracity of the narrator may be regarded as unquestionable.

When we remounted, to quit the hospitable tent of the Sheikh of Barak, we continued our way, on a course of east-north-east, over an unequal plain of less fertility than usual, being composed of a whitish dry soil, interspersed with scattered eminences of a chalky appearance. From some of these we again saw the

high range of Taurus, now seeming to stretch from west to east, more lofty than before, and, in some parts, completely sheeted over with unbroken snow; so that these points, at least, were probably higher than any part of Lebanon.

In about an hour, gradually descending, we came to a valley, through which ran a stream called Nahr-el-Kahareen, having its sources in the northern mountains, and flowing from hence, south-easterly, into the Euphrates. It was here about thirty feet broad, its current running at the rate of a mile-and-a-half per hour, and its stream too deep to be forded. Its waters were of a dull yellowish colour, from the soil over which their course lay; but soft, and of a sweet taste.

We crossed this river by a lofty and narrow bridge, of three pointed arches, apparently a modern work; after which we continued to ascend, for half an hour, over a white dry ground, when we came again to a plain, of great extent and fertility, the soil of which was a fine brown mould, and nearly the whole of it covered with corn. When at the summit of this gentle ascent, which brought us to the top of the plain, we saw a Turkish tomb, with

two white domes, on the left of the road; and, on the right, directly opposite to it, were some humbler graves, the upright stones of which were marked with a cross, deeply cut, so that they probably contained the bodies of some Christian passengers, who had died on the road, and whose surviving friends had placed no other memorial of them there, than the emblem of the faith in which they had lived.

In pursuing our way across this plain, we passed a party of husbandmen gathering in the harvest, the greater portion of the grain being now fully ripe. They plucked up the corn by the roots, instead of reaping it, a practice often spoken of in the Scriptures,* though

* Psalm 129, v. 6.—Maundrell, in his "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," in the same month of the year as the present, though upwards of a century ago, (May 11, 1697,) noticed the same practice, in the following passage: "All that occurred to us new in these days' travel, was a particular way used by the country people in gathering their corn: it being now harvest-time, they plucked it up by handfuls from the roots; leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had ever grown on them. This was the practice in all places of the East that I have seen, and the reason is, that they may lose none of their straw, which is generally very short, and necessary for the sustenance of their cattle, no hay being here made. I mention this, because it seems to give light to that expression of the Psalmist, 129,

reaping seems to be made the earliest and most frequent mention of. On seeing the caravan, one of the labourers ran from his companions, and, approaching us, danced, stood on his hands, with his feet aloft in the air, and gave other demonstrations of joy, when he presented us with an ear of corn and a flower, as an offering of the first-fruits of the year; another remnant also of a very ancient usage in the "wave offering" of the sheaf and the ear of corn, commanded to the Israelites by Moses.* We returned for it a handful of paras, or small tin coin, and answered the shout of joy which echoed from the field, by acclamations from the caravan.

We continued across this plain for nearly three hours, seeing several large wells in the

v. 6, 'which withereth before it be *plucked up*,' where there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom. Our new translation renders this place otherwise; but in so doing, it differs from most or all other copies; and here we may truly say, *the old is the better*. There is, indeed, mention of a mower in the next verse; but then it is such a mower as fills not his hand, which confirms rather than weakens the preceding interpretation."—p. 144, Oxford, sixth edition, 8vo.

* See the Jewish offerings, in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

way, but no dwellings, though the soil was cultivated throughout, and the harvest nearly ripe for gathering; when, soon after noon, we reached the village of Humbārak, seated on a little hill, beneath which we halted to encamp.

Notwithstanding the danger from which we had so narrowly escaped on the preceding day, in consequence of our being so widely scattered, the caravan had made to-day an equally straggling and disorderly march. One division of it halted at least two miles before us, and another part was nearly half that distance behind us; while we preferred the vicinity of these dwellings, for greater safety, and the supplies of a peopled spot. Here, as we had noticed in other Turcoman villages, were as many tents as houses; a burying-ground, with turbanned tomb-stones, and inscriptions in the Turkish language; and, near the village, in the plain below, was a high, oblong, artificial mound, like an ancient tumulus, from the summit of which we obtained the first sight of the bed of the Euphrates, a few miles only to the eastward of our halting-place.

CHAPTER II.

BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES,

AND APPROACH TO THE TOWN OF BEER.

CHAPTER II.

PASSAGE OF THE RIVER EUPHRATES, AT BEER.

We quitted our station with the dawn, and going, for about half an hour, over a fertile plain, opened a full view of the Euphrates, winding in its course to the southward.

Descending gradually for an hour more, and going nearly east, over a dry white soil, we came near the water's edge, close by a small hamlet of about twenty dwellings. There was, at this place, a ruined Turkish building, with a domed top and four open arches in its square walls, one on each side; it was probably an old well or fountain, as the tombs of the Mohammedans are mostly enclosed.

We went up from hence to the northward, along the west bank of the river, for another half hour, over a flat shelving land, when we came immediately opposite to Beer, which

stands on the east side of the stream. We halted here for some time, in an extensive burying-ground, near which is a khan, for the accommodation of travellers detained on this side of the river. The dead are transported across the stream for interment, and their graves appeared to occupy a very large portion of the plain.

The transport of the caravan, from one side of the Euphrates to the other, was long and tedious, occupying us till nearly noon. There were six large boats, each about forty feet in length, by ten broad, only two feet high at the stern, and about fifteen feet at the prow. The shape of these boats resembled the half of a gourd, divided longitudinally, and hollowed out within; the head of the fruit representing the head of the boat, and the stem of the fruit its stern. The floor or platform was nearly level, and the side timbers rose almost perpendicularly, or at right angles with the floor ones, being many in number, and of a small size. There was neither keel, stem-piece, nor stern-post; the bottom was formed by planks, nailed beneath the cross timbers of the flooring, which, on reaching near the head of the boat, were bent upwards in a rounding form,

till they reached the stem, generally tapering away there in breadth, and offering an over-hanging bow to the stream, while the stern was merely a gradual rising up of the bottom planks, till they were well cleared of the water, when the trunk of a tree was placed across their ends, like a ship's transom, its top being only two feet from the water's edge.

The stern of the boat being presented to the beach, and from the flatness of its bottom, and little draft of water, almost over-hanging the sand, the beasts of burthen got into it with ease, after they were lightened of their loads. Each of these boats carried about two tons of merchandize, besides four camels, a horse or two, three or four asses, and eight or ten passengers, but they were then almost dangerously laden. The crew consisted of four men and two boys; three persons being placed at each extremity, and the cargo and passengers a-midships. Over the high prow went one long oar, formed of the trunk of some slender tree; and this having to be managed by one person, its thickest end remained in-board, while to its other extremity were nailed two flat pieces of plank, for the blade. This oar

was used chiefly as a rudder; and on both bows were smaller oars of the same description, as well as on the quarters, so that they were used either on one side or the other, as occasion required.

When we pushed off from the shore, the lee-oars with regard to the current, or those on the south only, were pulled to impel the boat across the stream; but this was so rapid in its course, as to whirl the boat round four or five times in her passage over, and occasion her to fall at least a quarter of a mile below the point immediately opposite to that from which we started.

We landed on a steep beach, and passed under the arch of one of the buildings close to the water, where we were all detained for examination at the Custom-House, a refinement in which the Turks are inferior to no people in Europe. When this duty was over, we were suffered to pass through the town unmolested; and repairing to a sort of wharf without it, and close to the southern walls, the goods were there landed for examination. This occasioned us another long detention, so that it was nearly evening before all was ended,

when we went up through the town, and, going out of its eastern gate, encamped close to the walls for the night.

The town of Beer, which is the Birtha of antiquity,* is seated on the east bank of the Euphrates, at the upper part of a reach of that river, which runs nearly north and south, and just below a sharp bend of the stream, where it follows that course, after coming from a long reach flowing more from the westward. The river is hereabout the general breadth of the Nile, below the first cataract to the sea. It is considerably larger than the Orontes or the Jordan, and is at least equal to the Thames at Blackfriars-bridge.† Its eastern bank being

* D'Anville, Comp. of Anc. Geog. vol. i. p. 426. 8vo.

† Rauwolf says, that the Euphrates, when he crossed it at Beer, about the year 1575, was *a mile* broad; Maundrell, that it was as broad, in his time, as the Thames at London. When Otter crossed it, in 1734, its breadth, according to his conjecture, exceeded not two hundred common paces; though lower down, upon the plain, it spread, he observes, to the width of five or six hundred paces, at the time of its increase. Travels, vol. i. p. 108—112. The same traveller mentions a tradition, which ascribes the building the fortress of Beer to Alexander the Great; and adds, that there were, in his time, three other remarkable fortresses in the neighbourhood. Nedgem, to the east; Souroudge, to the north-east; and Kalai-Roum,

steep, and its western one flat where we crossed it, the rapidity of its current was very different on opposite sides. On the west, its rate was less than two miles an hour; in the centre, it was full three; and between that and the eastern shore, it ran at the rate of more than four miles an hour. Its greatest depth, as judged by the immersion of the large oars, which often touched the bottom, did not seem to be more than ten or twelve feet. Its waters were of a dull yellowish colour, and were quite as turbid as those of the Nile; though, as I thought at the time, much inferior to them in sweetness of taste. The earth, with which it is discoloured, is much heavier, as it quickly subsided, and left even a sediment in the bottom of the cup, while drinking; whereas the Nile water, from the lightness of its mould, may be drank without perceiving such deposit, if done immediately on being taken from the river.

The people of Beer are, in general, aware of the celebrity of their stream, and think it is the largest in the world. It still preserves its

a day's journey to the west. He observes, also, that the Vale of Olives, not far from the town, abounded in springs of water, and in fruit-trees.

ancient name, with very little corruption, being called by them Shat-el-Fraat, or the River of Fraat.*

* Josephus says, in his description of the four rivers of Paradise; "The Euphrates and the Tigris fall into the sea of Erythras; the Euphrates is called Phora (ΦΟΡΑ), which signifies, by one derivation, *Dispersion*, and by another, a *Flower*; but the Tigris is named Diglath (ΔΙΓΛΑΘ), an appellation which indicates *sharp* and *narrow*." Ant. Jud. lib. 1. c. 1. s. 3. On this passage, which is given in the translation of Dr. Vincent's "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," that writer has the following note.

"Phora, however, in some manuscripts, is written Phorath, like Diglath, and is in reality the modern name Phoráth, Phŏrāt, Forát, F'rat. It has two derivations from the Hebrew פר or פרצ, Phar or Pharatz, to *spread*, which indicates (σκεδασμὸν or) *dispersion*, or פרה, Pharah, to *produce fruit* or *flowers* (ἄνθος).

"Diglath is derived, in this form, from קלל, Khalal, *to go swift* (ὀξὺ μετὰ ϛενότητος). This is a coarse etymology, for ὀξὺ is not swift, (but ὠκύ), and we have nothing to represent μετὰ ϛενοτητος. Perhaps, Josephus and his countrymen were as bad etymologists as the Greeks.

"Pherat is used frequently in Scripture with the pronoun, as Hu-Pherát הוּא פְּרָת, *the* Pherát, or *that* Pherát, by way of pre-eminence; and is derived by the commentators from פרה, Pharah, *to produce fruit*, on account of its fertilizing the country by canals, &c. from פר, Phar, and פרצ, Pharatz, to *burst* or *spread*, because it *overflows* its banks, and from פרד, פרט, פרס, Phras, Phreth, and Phred,

It is known, also, as one of the four rivers of Paradise; and the only one, seemingly,

to *divide*, because it *separates* or *bounds* the Desert. The Greeks, as Hoffman justly says, *more suo*, derive Euphrates from εὐφραίνειν.

"Hid-Dehkel is written חִדֶּקֶל, Kid-Dekhel, and by the Samaritan manuscript חִדֶּקֶל, Hid-Dekhel, (or rather Hhid-Dekhel, and Ed-Dekhel,) as we are informed, from חד, to *dart forth*, חדר, *loud*, or from חד, Hhed, to *penetrate*; with the addition of קלל, Khalal, which implies *swift* motion; a sense agreeable to the opinion of the Greeks, who interpret the Tigris sometimes *swift*, and sometimes from the Persick, Teir, an arrow.

"If Dekhel had been written with a *g* in Hebrew, like Degel in Arabic, or the Diglath of Josephus, דגל, Dagal, signifies to *dazzle*, or *glitter*, &c., an idea not inconsistent with a swift and agitated stream; but all the authorities tend to קלל, Khalal." 4to. 1807; vol. i. p. 420, 421. Notes.

To this may be added, that the name of the Euphrates, which is written فرات in Arabic, signifies also *very fine sweet water*, and both it and the Tigris are called in the dual, فراتن Phratan, or the two Phrats; so that this signification would well apply, but it would be difficult to prove, whether the name was given to these rivers from their containing this fine sweet water, or whether this last was not subsequently expressed by a term, derived from the name of the river itself.

By Richardson, the name of the Tigris is written in Arabic دجلة, but it is pronounced Dejjala. Now, دجال Dejal, signifies *gold—the glittering of a sword—a large*

which has preserved its name. The river Gihon, which is mentioned also in the Koran, was thought, by an Indian pilgrim of our party, to be the Gunga of the Hindoos; and the rest assented to its being in Hind-el-Juāny, or the Innermost India. It is true, that it is said "to compass the whole land of Ethiopia;" but Herodotus speaks of Indian Ethiopians in his time; and, among the early writers, the word Ethiopia was applied to the country of the black people generally.*

The Euphrates seems to have been thought even superior to the Nile, by a writer, the scenes of whose history were occasionally on both. In describing a communion between Abraham and his God, amid the darkness of

caravan—liquid pitch; the first of which might be indicative of the wealth produced by it; the second, the appearance of its rapid stream; the third, the commerce carried on upon it; and the last, the springs of bitumen and naphtha, which abound as much on the banks of this river as on those of the Euphrates. Whether the Arabic or Hebrew etymologies are to be preferred in point of antiquity, or even of appropriateness, is a question that would admit of dispute. In Armenia, where the Tigris rises, the word Tiger is said to signify an arrow.

* "Can the leopard change his spots, or the Æthiop his skin?"

the evening, he says,—" In the same day God made a covenant with Abraham, saying,—Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the *Great River*, the river Euphrates."* It deserves this distinctive appellation, in contrast with rivers generally, though not with the Nile; which may be considered as equally great, whether from the length of its course, or the celebrity of the ancient cities which stood upon its banks.

I made many inquiries here, after the ruins of Hierapolis, now called Yerabolus, but no one knew of such a place although it is certainly less than a short day's journey from this town. I should have thought it might have been at a spot called Khallet-el-Room, or the Roman Castle,† said to be four hours'

* Genesis, chap. xv. v. 18.—The Kennizzites, spoken of in the next verse, may possibly be the great tribe of the Annazies, who occupy all the western banks of the Euphrates, and the eastern frontier of Syria, to this day.

† This is said to be the ancient Zeugma, so called from the Grecian term, signifying a Bridge, and not a Bride, as erroneously printed. This was the great passage for the Roman armies into Mesopotamia; and opposite to it, on the east side of the river, was a small town called Apamea. —*Kinneir's Persia*, p. 316. It is the Kalai-Roum mentioned by Otter.—See Note, p. 29.

distance up the river, were it not that, from the course of Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to that place, it would appear to have been to the southward of this.

The principal stations spoken of, between this and Bussorah, are Anah, the ancient Anatho,* Hit, and Hillah; the former, perhaps, the country of the Anakites—the second, of the Hittites—and the last, now recognized as the site of the ruined Babylon. There is, at present, no communication by water from Beer, either up or down the Euphrates; partly from the want of proper boats, and the unskilfulness of the people to build them, and partly from the banks being, on both sides, occupied by tribes of Arabs, often at war among themselves, and always in hostilities against strangers who pass that way. The stream is called Shat-el-Fraat, from its source in the mountains of Armenia, until its junction with the Tigris, below Bagdad; when they are jointly called Shat-el-Arab, or the river of the Arabs, to its outlet into the sea.

Just below the town of Beer, the stream divides itself into twenty smaller channels,

* Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 164.

running between low grassy islets; and opposite the town itself was now a dry bank of mud: but all these, no doubt, change their form, their size, and even their situation, at different periods, according to the state of its waters, as in the Ganges, and the other great rivers of India. The stream undergoes some variation in its height during the course of the year; but this is not regular, as the rains without the tropic are not fixed in the periods of their fall; and if, in winter, these give an accession of waters to the tributary streams, the melting of the snows on Mount Taurus, in the summer, contributes, perhaps, an equal portion.

The banks on both sides, where steep, are of a chalky soil, as seen from hence; and, where flat, they are fertile, and covered with trees and verdure. About two hours below Beer,* and on the eastern bank of the river, is an extensive grove, not of palms, but of some

* It should be noted here, that the practice of the Orientals is to estimate distances by the time in which a strong and healthy man could walk over them, rather than by any more definite measure. Wherever this standard is used in these pages, an hour's distance may be understood to imply, generally, from three to four miles.

fuller foliaged tree; and near it, on the river's brink, is a high artificial mound, like the site of a fort. To the north, also, are seen woods and green fields; but immediately opposite to the town, is a plain, of bare soil, with a broad beach of fine dark sand, covered with pebbles of white quartz, and other hard stones; and, at the town itself, the bank is, in some parts, a steep beach of broken fragments of stone, and in others a high chalky cliff.

The town of Beer may contain about four hundred houses, and from three to four thousand inhabitants. It has five mosques, with tall minarets; a public bath, a caravanserai, a few coffee-houses, and a small, but ill-supplied, bazār. Its western front is washed by the edge of the river, so that the walls of the houses form its defence on that face; and on the other three sides, towards the land, it is encompassed by a good wall of Saracenic work, disfigured in some places by later Mohammedan repairs. As this has been, no doubt, a general pass from Syria into Mesopotamia, for many ages, it was necessarily an important position, both in a military and commercial point of view; and sufficient marks of fortifi-

cation and building remain, to shew that it had long been so considered.

As the town itself stands on the side of a very steep hill, there are perpendicular cliffs within and around it, in different directions. In these are a number of large caves, and smaller grottoes; none of which, as far as I could examine them, appeared to be sepulchral; so that they may be carried up to as high an antiquity as any other Troglodyte habitations. The cliffs are in general of a hard chalky substance, and have furnished the materials for the buildings in the town; many of the quarries being now caves, closed with a wall of masonry in front, and used as dwellings by the present inhabitants. The houses, and the rocky slope on which they stand, present, from the opposite side of the river, a mass of glaring white, which is painful to look upon in the sun.

In the centre, on a height of the rock, stands an old ruined fortification; and all along the north end of the town, where a perpendicular cliff faces the water, are the walls and towers of a large castle, incorporated with the cliff itself, and presenting, even now,

in its state of great dilapidation, an imposing aspect. These are said, anciently, to have contained some curious engines of war, and other antiquities, hastily seen and described by Maundrell. Some of the persons to whom we addressed our inquiries here, regarding them, contended that they had been since carried away; others, that they had never been there; and others, again, that they were still remaining to be seen; all swearing by their beards, and appealing to God and the prophet for the truth of their opposite statements. My mortification was the greater, inasmuch as I was unable to visit it myself, from the necessary attention which I had to pay to my horse, my baggage, &c.; and from the many other troublesome duties which fall on every individual of a caravan, on entering a new district. I saw, however, in the porch of one of the gates of the town, two large iron axles for wheels, each of them about six feet long, and nine inches diameter in their thickest parts; and these were among the articles which Maundrell enumerates.*

* Maundrell's visit to Beer was made in the year 1699, and is appended to his Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

The streets of Beer are narrow; but, from the steepness of the site, and the materials of the buildings, the town is generally clean. Some of the houses are plaistered and white-washed in front, with painted figures, in the Turkish style, over the doors; and the inscription of ماش الله (Mash-Allah), a common exclamation of wonder and reverence for the Almighty, with the date of their erection, as frequently seen at Aleppo.

The walls appear to have been built of a hard yellow stone, of which there is only a small portion in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, unless time, and the effects of the air, may have changed the colour and texture of the surface. They are of excellent masonry, and are constructed in the rustic manner, in imitation of Roman work. There are towers at the angles, and other parts; and some portions of the wall climb over very steep acclivities, as at Antioch. Through all parts of it are loop-holes for arrows, and a battlement going all around the summit.

The front of the eastern gate presents many architectural decorations, in good taste, among which are the fan-topped niches, so fashionable in Roman times, and afterwards

imitated by the Saracens. They were always executed by these last, however, with an approximation to the pointed arch, and in a way to be easily distinguished from those of the Roman age. Around the battlements, I observed, also, a sort of frieze, formed of large fleur-de-lys reversed; but whether this ornament had any reference to the defeat of the Christian powers, who bore it among their emblems during the time of the crusades, it would be difficult to determine.

There were here, also, as in most old Mohammedan fortresses, many circular stones jutting out from the walls, like guns projecting through the closed port of a ship's side; and on all these were inscriptions in relief, for which purpose they seemed to have been placed there. In the oldest buildings this is the use to which they are applied, and this was, no doubt, their original intention; though in some, perhaps later buildings, fragments of granite and marble pillars have been used, to project from the walls in this way, when the buildings were erected near the site of any ruined city, and were thus already formed to the builder's hands; but their ends were not then used as inscriptive tablets.

Around the whole of the front of the eastern gate was a long band of smooth stone, containing an inscription in characters of high-relief, and well cut; but it was in such ancient complicated forms that none of our party could understand it, although we had many who could read the old Cufic character with facility, and who understood the most learned style of Arabic in use at the present day.

Beer is under the dominion of the Pasha of Orfah, and is governed by an Aga, who has only a few personal attendants, and no troops. The sum paid on the entrance of goods from Syria, is four piastres and a half, or about half a Spanish dollar per camel-load, of whatever commodity; one hundred paras, or about half-a-crown sterling per head, is also demanded from all Christians returning from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and crossing the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, of which there were several in our caravan.*

* According to Olivier, the passage of the Euphrates at Bir (as it is spelt by him) was performed, in his time, in a large boat, directed by a helm and a long pole. The river, he observes, seemed to resemble the Rhone in size and rapidity; while its volume is considerably increased in the beginning of spring, and in autumn, by the melting of the

Without the eastern walls, where we encamped, was a large cave, supported within by columns, left in the rock; and it appeared to have been once used as a place of shelter for cattle. In the sides of the rock itself, and in every one of its pillars, were holes and bars hollowed out for fastening the halters of the beasts; and these had certainly been used for this purpose during many years, as the originally rough stones were worn quite smooth by continued friction, though it had long ceased to be appropriated to such a purpose.

At this place I saw none of the boats, formed of rafts buoyed up by inflated skins, with which the river Euphrates was anciently navigated from Armenia to Babylon, as described by several of the Greek writers; though an application of the principle still remained in use, probably as a last vestige of its gradual decay.*

snows, and the rains which fall in those seasons. The town of Bîr contained, according to his conjecture, about three or four thousand inhabitants.—Vol. ii. p. 327. In the time of Otter, Bîr was under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of Aleppo.

* In the "Description du Pachalik de Bagdad," by Mons. Rousseau, formerly Consul for France at that capital, the following passage alludes to this decay:—

"Sans remonter jusqu'à leurs sources, et sans vanter la

The stream is often crossed by men and boys, who, stripping off their clothes, place them on their heads, and throw their bodies along on a sheep or goat-skin, tightly filled with air. They completely embrace this highly-buoyant vessel by clasping their arms around it, near to one extremity, till their hands lock together beneath it, throwing their thighs more loosely over the sides near the other end. By the simply propelling motion of the feet, and the occasional use of one of the hands, as an oar or rudder, they get across faster than the largest

bonté de leurs eaux, je commencerai par dire que si l'Euphrate et le Tigre eussent traversé la Grèce, ou l'Italie, on auroit vu les poètes s'empresser de chanter à l'envi leur magnifique aspect, et se plaire à célébrer les grâces naïves, et les jeux folâtres des divinités imaginaires, dont auroient été peuplées leurs ondes argentines: alors, ils n'auroient cédé en rien pour la renommée au Pactole, ou au Tibre. Au reste, les deux fleuves dont il s'agit produisent en abondance d'excellens poissons, et sont également navigables, l'Euphrate, depuis Bir, à cinq journées d'Alep, et le Tigre, depuis Moussol, jusqu'à Bassora. *Il y a quarante ans que les communications par eau, entre Bir et Hilla, étoient très-fréquentes:* elles sont aujourd'hui totalement interrompues, par la négligence des habitans du premier de ces lieux, qui ont laissé périr tous leurs bateaux, sans vouloir se donner la peine d'en construire de nouveaux, propres à cette navigation.

boats, and with much less loss of way from the force of the stream.*

The language of Beer is almost entirely Turkish, by far the greater portion of the inhabitants not even understanding Arabic. The dress of the men is nearly the same as at Aleppo; and among them are quite as great a proportion of green-turbanned Shereefs.† It

* On this singular practice, Monsieur Rousseau has the following passage :—

" Tous les voyageurs ont parlé avec surprise de la coutume qu'ont les Arabes de ces contrées, de faire de très-longs trajets à la nage, au moyen d'une outre enflée qu'ils s'attachent au ventre. Cette outre n'est autre chose qu'une peau de chèvre dont ils cousent exactement toutes les ouvertures, excepté celle d'une jambe, par laquelle ils soufflent cette peau jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit remplie d'air et bien tendue ; ensuite ils tortillent cette partie, et la tiennent bien serrée. Après cette préparation, ils se dépouillent nus, font un paquet de leurs habits qu'ils attachent sur l'épaule, et se posent à plat sur l'outre ; de cette manière ils voguent très-lestement à fleur d'eau, en remuant les pieds et se gouvernant avec les mains, tandis qu'ils tiennent à la bouche leur pipe toute allumée. Ce que je viens de dire ne regarde pas les hommes seulement, on voit aussi très-souvent des troupes nombreuses de femmes et de jeunes filles, se transporter d'un rivage à l'autre sur leurs ballons enflés, et faire retentir l'air de leurs chants pendant la traversée."

† Pretended lineal descendants of the Prophet Mohammed.

would seem remarkable that these immediate descendants of the Prophet should be so numerous throughout the northern parts of Syria, where neither himself nor any of the family of his own times ever reached, while they are so comparatively few in Yemen and the Hedjāz, his native country, and the scene of his principal exploits, were it not known that this honour is as frequently purchased by money as any other distinction in the Turkish empire. The women of Beer dress like those of Asia Minor, and among the few that I saw loosely veiled, were some as fair as the women of southern Europe, with more healthy ruddiness of colour.

We passed our evening on the summit of the hill above the town; where, while we smoked our pipes on the grass, and drank the cool freshness of the western breeze, we were gratified with the most agreeable prospect. Immediately before us were the walls, the towers, and the broken turrets of the Saracenic Town and Castle, with a bright moon throwing her silver touches along the line of its battlements, and producing the finest contrast between the dark outline of their ragged points, and the clear blue sky, on which they

were so distinctly traced. Beyond the eastern wall, the camels of the caravan were dimly seen, the twilight of the broad shade in which they reposed, being still more darkened by the smoke of the fires, around which their drivers had assembled to sing away their cares. Behind us, was a white chalky valley, with abrupt cliffs on either side, and well wooded throughout with thick foliaged trees. Before us, at our feet, flowed the majestic Euphrates, winding its way through innumerable little islets. The stream was bordered, on its eastern side, by a narrow slip of plain, filled with productive gardens; but from its opposite bank, towards the horizon of the west, the eye ranged over a level tract of land, without a marked feature or a prominent object to be seen throughout its illimitable extent.

CHAPTER III.

FROM BEER, ACROSS THE PLAINS OF THE TURCOMANS, TO ORFAH.

JUNE 1st.—We quitted Beer with the dawn, though it was long past sun-rise before all the caravan had cleared the hill above; not so much from its steepness or its length, as from the unfitness of the camel, particularly when loaded, to tread any roads but level ones.

As we were among the last in motion, we were surprised by a party who had been despatched from the Aga to seize a Janissary on his escape from Aleppo, and who laid hold of me as the person in question. It had been observed at the Custom-house, that I had no merchandise in the caravan, and it was therefore concluded that I was not a trader. As I wore the Musulman turban, it was decided

CHAPTER III.

HALT OF THE CARAVAN,

AND DIVERSIONS OF THE GUARDS BY MOONLIGHT.

that I was not a Christian pilgrim from Jerusalem; my person being unknown to the different douaniers who were acquainted with all the people that usually pass from Syria into Mesopotamia, I must, they thought, have been a military man of some kind; and my being well armed, and riding a horse, instead of a mare or gelding, tended rather to confirm this opinion. My ignorance of the Turkish language was thought to be a pretext, merely to protect myself from suspicion: and the conclusion on all these facts was, that I could be no other than a Janissary of Aleppo, flying for some crime, either of a public or a private nature.

I was about to shew my passport, as an Englishman, from the Pasha of Aleppo; but Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, whom I consulted privately on the affair, advised me, in a whisper, by no means to do so. It would be certain, he thought, of leading to a large demand of entrance-money on coming into the territory of the Pasha of Orfah, as this chief was independant of the Pasha of Aleppo, and even courted opportunities to show how much he despised his authority. To relieve myself from this detention, I endeavoured to per-

suade them that I really was not a Janissary, but a Muggrebin Trader, who had been unfortunate in the west, and was now seeking to repair my losses by new adventures in the east.

I think that this tale was believed, though the first accusation was still persisted in, until it was at last told me, that if I chose to pay fifty gold roobeahs to the Governor's people, I might depart and join the caravan; but if not, that I should be detained here until I could give some better account of myself. I desired a moment for consideration, and it was granted me; when, consulting with the Hadjee, he assured me that he could not possibly wait, as his goods and attendants were gone on, and that if I was detained here alone, I should no doubt be ill-treated and greatly distressed. He offered even to pay the sum himself, rather than suffer this to take place, but advised immediate decision. I accordingly returned, agreeably to his advice, and no longer denied the charge of being really a Janissary, who had lately entered the service, and had come from Cairo, where Turkish is but little spoken. As they had concluded that, for some mutinous conduct there, I had

been obliged to seek my safety in flight, I now threw myself upon the clemency of the Governor, as a brother soldier—pleaded poverty from my being obliged to escape in haste, but put twenty-five gold roobeahs, or about sixty shillings sterling, into his hand, at the time of my kneeling to kiss it, and this in so secret a manner, that no one could see the gift or claim a share. I was then ordered to be set at liberty immediately, and, distributing a few piastres among the servants, was quickly mounted and soon rejoined the caravan.

From the top of the hill above the town, we went onward in nearly an eastern direction, over a hard chalky soil, producing a long slender grass, and cultivated but very slightly in scattered patches. We saw here many large vultures, and some common hawks. The aspect of the country was dull and uninteresting, as there was neither mountain, valley, nor even plain; the whole being an unequal surface, like the high and long waves of a deep sea when subsiding from a tempest into a calm,—and not a tree any where in sight to relieve the monotony of the scene.*

* The description given of the Plains of Mesopotamia, by Xenophon, is strikingly accurate. "The country was

As the animals and their guides were equally fatigued with the exertion of getting clear of the town this morning, our march did not exceed five hours, when we halted in a grassy dell to encamp for the night. The only place at which water could be procured, was from a cistern or tank, near a small hamlet, upwards of a mile off. From thence it was brought by asses, but we could obtain from its inhabitants no other supplies of refreshment.

As we were now reduced to our own resources, our supper consisted of boiled wheat, warm bread, baked on a fire of camels' dung and steeped in clear melted butter, and some wild herbs, gathered from among the grass around us. This was followed by a pipe and a cup of coffee, and afterwards about an ounce of brown sugar, made into a round hard cake, was served to us out of a little tin case. This was the travelling fare of one of the richest

a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood: if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches, besides bustards and roe-deer, (antelopes,) which our horsemen sometimes chased." He then gives a lively description of the mode in which the pursuit was conducted, and its general result.—*See the Anabasis*, book i.

merchants of Mousul, who had property to the amount of ten or fifteen thousand pounds sterling in money and goods embarked in the present caravan, and who every night fed, from his own table, not less than twenty poor pilgrims, besides his own immediate dependants.

June 2nd.—We quitted our station just as the moon had set, or near midnight. From thence, until the day broke, our way was easterly, over a country similar to that which we had traversed yesterday, composed of swelling ridges of land, with a dry light soil, scantily covered by grass, and a few patches of corn in the hollows of the plain, but not a tree was any where to be seen.

About eight o'clock we came to a large ruined caravanserai, called Khan Charmellek. It was one of the largest and best constructed that I had yet seen any where out of the cities of Turkey, being constructed with excellent masonry, and furnished with every convenience in rooms, stalls, courts, &c. The pointed arch is seen in the great front door; but, in a range of smaller apertures on each side, the flat Norman arch is used. The roof was formed

into a terrace running around the central court, and the cornice over the four sides of the outer front was purely Arabic. In a good building opposite, which is said to have been the station of the custom-master and his proper officers, for examining the goods as they passed, there is equally good masonry. Besides the pointed arch, there is here one window which is formed of three segments of circles; the two lower segments being those of the round arch, and the upper one being slightly pointed, which resembles the Gothic style; and yet these three kinds of arches in the same building are most indisputably contemporary.

There are fine Gothic windows in the Great Saracen Castle of El-Hhussan, in Syria, of which the date is not known: and in the same place is an inscription in Gothic characters, which could not have been an Arabic work, even if the architecture were Saracenic. There is neither history nor tradition, however, regarding the possession of the Castle of Hhussan, by the Crusaders, though the inscription in the Gothic character renders this highly probable; and, if so, the architecture would be easily accounted for as a repair, or as an

addition to the original Saracenic work. The whole history of architecture in these countries is clouded by a thousand doubts, on examining the monuments of the different races who have possessed them. Each style and order has had its day; but, instead of the remains of these elucidating, as might be expected, the history of their succession, every fragment seen tends only to make the rise, progress, perfection, or decline of particular styles and orders of architecture in the East, more obscure than before.

This khan, though very slightly ruined, is now entirely abandoned, as well as a small mud village behind it, the people of which no doubt subsisted, principally, by furnishing it with supplies.

From hence, we turned up on the left to a small Turcoman camp where we procured some milk, which was a welcome refreshment after our long morning's ride. The tents, though smaller, were similar in structure to those recently described.

The men of this camp, as I had noted elsewhere, were fairer, cleaner, better dressed, and more at their ease, than Arabs of the

same class; and all of them wore turbans, which were generally of white cloth in broad folds. In most of the countenances that I had yet seen, there seemed to me to exist traces of resemblance to the Tartar physiognomy. The face is short, broad, and flat, with high cheek-bones, small sunken eyes, flat nose, broad mouth, and short neck, with a full black bushy beard. The Malay and the Chinese face are but exaggerated examples of the same cast of countenances seen here, and form perhaps the extreme, of which this is the first marked commencement. In the Arab race, the face is long, narrow, and sharp; the cheek-bones, flat and low; and all have large expressive eyes, a prominent and aquiline nose, small but full-lipped mouth, long graceful neck, and generally a scanty beard. As a race or caste, the Turcomans are, therefore, widely different from the Arabs; though the same habits of life have brought them from the north and the south, to border upon each other.

The women of this tribe were quite as well dressed as those we had seen before. We noticed one, said to be newly married, who was driving goats to her tent, dressed with red

shalloon trowsers and yellow boots, a clean white upper garment, a red tarboosh on her head, overhanging in front, and three rows of gold Venetian sequins bound around her brow. She was fair, ruddy, and her skin was not disfigured by stains; but, above all, she was remarkably clean and perfectly unveiled, two marks of more distinctive difference from the Bedouin women than even those which are noted as separating the male races.

The existing abhorrence of any imputation on their chastity, and the going openly unveiled, in a country where the contrary combinations are much more frequent, are also a singular feature of the Turcoman women; and this, like all else that we had seen of their manners, is strictly conformable to that of the earliest ages. It appears that, then, *harlots* only veiled themselves, to avoid, probably, the disgrace of ever being recognised or personally known; while *modest* females exposed their features to public view. In the story of Judah's unconscious incest with Tamar, his daughter-in-law, it is said, that "she covered herself with a veil, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place by the way-side,—and when Judah saw her, he thought her to be an

harlot, BECAUSE she had covered her face."* After his communication with her in the public road, it is said, "she arose and went her way, and laid by her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood." When it was told him afterwards, that this same daughter-in-law "had played the harlot, and was with child by whoredom," as she was one over whom he had the power of a parent, he exclaimed, "Bring her forth, and let her be burnt;"† so that the same jealousy of injured honour, and the same openness with which women appeared before men, existed then, as are still found here among the people now. The contrary customs and manners, which prevail in towns, may be considered, perhaps, as an effect chiefly produced by the seclusion which forms a constant part of the Mohammedan treatment of women.

From this camp, we went on for about an hour and half, when we came to a large cistern, constructed for the reception of rain-water; where we did not find enough, however, to supply our party. It was a reservoir of a circular shape, excavated out of the rock,

* See Genesis, chap. xxxviii. v. 14—15.

† See Genesis, chap. xxxviii. v. 24.

to a depth of twenty feet below the surface, and was descended to by a flight of steps, hewn down also to that depth. The whole was stuccoed over on the inside, and it was both a useful and a well-executed work. It is called Saireej Kairaat.

About an hour beyond this, we came to a second reservoir, in a spot called Char Merz, where we encamped for the day.

June 3rd.—We departed again with the setting moon, and had lightning and slight showers of rain, which made our way dark and disagreeable until the day broke. Our course was a point or two to the southward of east, and this brought us, at day-light, to a large reservoir for rain-water, with a place for prayer near it.

We were now come into a more uneven country than before: the height of many of the eminences gave them the character of hills; and they were, throughout, formed of lime-stone rock, of a rounded surface, and generally barren. In the vallies, were some few patches of cultivated ground, and the rest was covered with a long wild grass. This furnished sufficient provender, not only for

the camels, but for all the mules and asses of our caravan, the horses only requiring corn. In our progress, the road became more stony and bare as we advanced, till, about ten o'clock, we turned out of the way to halt by a cistern. There being no water in this, except the small portion yielded by the light showers which had fallen in the night, we were compelled to continue our way again, until we arrived, in about another hour, at a small hollow plain or Wādi, as it is called, where there was a large hewn reservoir for rain-water, and a smaller one of good masonry in the same plain, distant about a quarter of a mile. As the first of these contained an abundant supply for us all, we pitched our tents here for the day, though we were now not more than an hour's distance from Orfah.

Caravan-travelling, for one whose business required great despatch, was more tedious to me, than could be well imagined; and it was rendered still more so, by my having no hope of being able to avail myself of any other mode. To go alone, as we had already had sufficient proof, was highly dangerous; and, by leading to my being stripped in the way, might prove fatal to all my designs. Messen-

gers of the government, accustomed to carry despatches, and acquainted with by-roads, which they alone frequent, were not to be met with during my stay at Aleppo; and as the government Tartars now go only from Constantinople, through Diarbekr to Bagdad, and Arab messengers directly across the Desert from Aleppo, there seemed no probability of falling in with either of these on the way. Our rate of travelling was so slow, that it scarcely exceeded twelve miles a day, on an average; the least distance being about ten, and the greatest fifteen. The time occupied in this, was from four to six hours, in one continued march, so that our average rate must have been, as nearly as can be estimated, about two and a half geographical miles per hour.

In walking my horse a gentle pace, if I mounted the last in the caravan, I could gain the head of it in two hours, though our line extended nearly two miles in length; when, as was the practice of most of the other horsemen of the party, we dismounted on the grass, suffered our horses to feed there, and either lay down or smoked a pipe for nearly an hour, until the caravan had all passed us again.

This was repeated at every similar interval; so that, in an uninteresting tract of country, where there was no picturesque landscape to charm the sight, not a tree to relieve the monotonous outline of the hills, nor sufficient verdure to clothe their rocky sides,—where either we were lighted only by the stars, or scorched by the sun an hour after its rising,—its tediousness may be easily conceived.

The only advantage to be counterbalanced against all these, is security. But with regard to supplies, as it is more difficult to obtain them for a large number than for a few, and as every one furnishes himself with what he may require on the journey, mutual help in these is scarcely ever thought of, or even practicable, without great inconvenience to one or other of the parties. It is the practice, however, of most of those who can afford it, to dress an ample supper at night, that sufficient may remain for the poor who are in the camp.

From the tent of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, there were not less than twenty such, who were regularly fed, besides those who sat down with him, and were looked upon either as his companions, or immediate dependants, and

amounting to fifteen or twenty more. Among these was a Wahābee, from the Nedjed, in the heart of Arabia, who had been redeemed from his deistical and puritanical heresy to the orthodox Islamism of the Turks, by a wound which he had received in his face. This had injured his jaw-bones to such a degree, that he could not open them at all, so that, to enable him to eat, he had been obliged to have four of his front teeth drawn, to open a passage for admitting his food. He never failed, however, to consume his ample share of this, and that too very rapidly, from his losing no time in mastication. Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān had found this man at Mecca, a prisoner, taken from the Wahābees; and, on his return to the faith of his fathers, he had taken him into his service as his inspector of camels.

There were, also, two Indian fakīrs from the Punjāb, who had been two years from their homes, having staid two Ramadāns at Mecca. They had come with a caravan straight from Muscat, in the Persian Gulf, to that city, through the country of the Arabs; and described the face of it as generally desert and destitute of water, and the few tribes

of Bedouins there as bad people, generally at war with each other. They had also found a friend in the venerable Hadjee, who offered to take them from Mecca to Mousul on their return, in his own train, free of expense. They walked on foot; but as they suffered nothing from the heat, and performed only short daily journeys, this was no inconvenience to them; and they certainly ate, drank, and slept more—and did, in all other respects, considerably less—than any others of the party.

One of them spoke a little Hindoostanee, and told me that he had been at Bombay. He praised the English government very highly, and thought they did right in every thing but that of their flogging fakīrs, when they found them wandering naked in the streets.* It was observed, indeed, by many

* Aurungzebe adopted a more effectual method of terrifying the fakīrs into decency. "I was for a long time disgusted, (says Bernier,) with a celebrated fakīr, named Sarmet, who paraded the streets of Delhi, as naked as when he came into the world. He despised, equally, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zêbe, and underwent, at length, the punishment of decapitation, from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel."—*Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire.*

of our circle, as well as by myself, that these, and Indian Mohammedans generally, are more bigoted and fanatic than the believers in the same faith who come from other countries; and that they have more of the forms, with less of the spirit, of their religion, than either Arabs or Turks. It was thus that one of these men would repeat, for an hour together, in quick succession, the Moslem profession of faith, as many times as possible, in one breath; and another would count his beads and mutter sentences unintelligible to the rest, while neither of them ever washed or prayed, according to the prescribed manner. The more reasonably pious of our party were much scandalized at this, and held their practices to be tainted, as they doubtlessly are, with the idolatry of Hindooism.

The state of the thermometer, since our leaving Aleppo, had been tolerably regular, but was gradually on the advance. The air was extremely dry and light, and the additional heat was, no doubt, partly caused by this and by the bareness of the earth's surface. During the day, our skies were clear in the zenith, but marked by lines of white clouds all around the horizon; and our nights were

beautifully pure and brilliant, with the exception of the last night only, which was clouded between midnight and daybreak. At sunrise, we had the thermometer at 78°; at noon, it was 102° in the sun, and 96° in the shade of the tent; at sunset, it stood at 88° and at midnight, at 76°. During the day, we had strong winds from the north, which considerably tempered the air, as these winds came from the lofty snow-clad ridge of Taurus; and, during the night, it was generally calm, without the slightest perceptible fall of dew, which contributed much toward preserving an equal temperature. There was, indeed, a freshness in the air, both by day and night, which made it as agreeable as we found it healthy.

In the course of the evening, several horsemen alighted at our tent, and were served with the cup of hospitality, as passengers on their way. We at first suspected them to be the spies of some Turcoman troop in the neighbourhood, who had come among us to ascertain our force. They all told the same story, representing themselves as adventurers from Diarbekr, going to seek military service at Aleppo and Damascus. We found

this afterwards to be true; for, soon after they had left us, there passed a caravan going to Beer, the leaders of which confirmed to us the truth of their statement, and set our minds at rest. Our condition, indeed, was now more defenceless than before, and gave sufficient reason for alarm, since more than half the caravan, including the lightly-laden beasts, and the horsemen, who were merely passengers without goods, had gone on to Orfah, and left here but a small party encamped with us.

My host, Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, having made friends among those who had left us, by his hospitable treatment of them on the road, they were grateful enough to return it, by sending out to us, from the town, a very excellent supper, composed of at least fifty dishes, besides two mules laden with ices for making iced sherbets, some white mulberries, quinces, and other fruits, forming altogether a meal and dessert for a sovereign.

We continued up late, in the enjoyment of as much festivity as our means would afford, by hearing the rude music and songs of some, and clapping our hands to the dances of others of our camel-drivers, around a blazing

fire. We surrounded this circle, formed by the animals themselves, who, on being driven in from the hills where they feed, are made to kneel down, and are generally arranged in a circular form around the horses, the merchandize, and the people of the caravan, as an outer barrier for general security. Here, though our guards were set on the outposts of the camp, and we had each to relieve the watch in our turn, we sang and danced away our cares, and were as happy as the most sumptuous banquets or gorgeous palaces could have made us.

CHAPTER IV.

INTERIOR VIEW

OF THE STREETS AND BUILDINGS OF ORFAH, FROM A TERRACE.

CHAPTER IV.

ENTRY OF THE CARAVAN INTO THE CITY OF ORFAH.

JUNE 4th.—The effects of the preceding night's dissipation (if mirth so temperate as ours could be so named) kept us asleep until the sun rose, and it was not until a full hour afterwards that we commenced our march. The road now became more hilly and stony than before; but, in about an hour and half, on arriving at the top of one of the eminences, and winding down a ravine, we came in sight of Orfah.

As it stood on a lower hill beyond us, and presented little to the westward, except a long bare wall running nearly north and south, the view of it from hence was uninteresting. On the hill itself, from which we first saw it, I remarked a pass cut through the rock, and leaving a perpendicular wall on each side;

and from hence, all the way to the city, a distance of more than a mile, led a broad paved road, winding down the side of the hill, and still in good preservation.

In the cliffs above us, we noticed, both to the right and left, several excavations, which had all the appearance of sepulchral grottoes. Some few of these were arched at their openings, like the tombs at Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes; but the greater number of them had oblong square entrances, like those in the Necropolis of the Egyptian Thebes; and they were all, no doubt, works of high antiquity.

On reaching the foot of the hill, which is composed of lime-stone rock, we went for half an hour over a cultivated plain of good soil, and began to ascend a smaller rising of the land, where the approach to the town is made through an extensive modern cemetery. The tombs were all in the Turkish style, with a tall stone at each end of the grave, and that at the head ornamented with a turban, by the character of which, the sex and class of life of the deceased may be known, even by those who are not able to read the monumental inscriptions.

I thought it remarkable, however, as all the people from this place, whom we had yet seen, wore the overhanging tarboosh of Syria, with a shawl wound high on its front, that the graves here should be decorated with the Turkish kaook, or high-ribbed calpac; which is, in general, peculiar to the Osmanlies, or Turks of Constantinople and its immediate neighbourhood.

The graves were not decked with myrtle by the hands of surviving friends, as at Damascus, nor apparently attended with so much pious remembrance of their silent inmates; but they were, in general, better built, and more expensively ornamented, than the former. The body of the grave, or of the tomb above it, rose in receding stages, one within another, for three or four rows, leaving on the top a space about the length and breadth of the human form, from each end of which rose the perpendicular inscriptive stones. On the sides of these receding stages, ran around sculptured friezes, formed, invariably, of the little arched niche, so constantly repeated in Arabic and Turkish architecture. They were here, however, in every instance, reversed, with their points downwards; but whether such a rever-

sion of this common ornament, in being peculiarly applied to the sepulchres of the dead, had any reference to the change of state, as well as habitation, of the beings whose remains they contained, I could not learn.

Among these tombs, I saw, for the first time, military trophies depicted. The inner surfaces of the head and footstones of the graves, which fronted each other, were flat; and these were inscribed with many lines, both in Turkish and in Arabic. The letters were cut in high relief, in some gilded on a white ground, and in others painted in black on a green ground; the former, as it was explained to me, being for virgins and youths, dying in a state of innocence, and the latter peculiar to the graves of shereefs, or other persons distinguished for their piety; green being the holy colour of the Prophet. The lines were engraved obliquely, or diagonally upwards, from the right to the left, in the manner of firmans, and other state-writings; and the characters were exceedingly well executed. The outer faces of these same stones were convex; and on them were generally represented various emblems, in gaudy colours.

It was on this part, beneath the turban at

the top, that I saw depicted a sword, a shield, a mace, a battle-axe, and other instruments of war, as well grouped as the Roman devices of this kind generally are. They were, however, very imperfectly executed, from their being done in painting, an art of which the Turks are scarcely yet in the infancy. The execution of the turbans was much better, as they were wrought in sculpture; and there were some variations in the fashion of them, which decided the peculiar classes of society to which the dead belonged, as certain forms are worn only by certain ranks of men.

On arriving near the gate of the city, we turned down on the left, and, crossing a small bridge over a rivulet, halted at the Khan Koolāh-Oghlee. This is a large caravanserai, set apart for the use of those who do not bring their goods into the town, but who remain there only a few days, as passengers on their journey to some other place.

Our camels were unladen at this khan; but the numerous friends of my protector, who came out to congratulate him on his return from the Hadj, or holy pilgrimage to Mecca, would not suffer us to remain here. As soon, therefore, as all was safely unladen in the

great court, and the servants were distributed in the chambers above, we quitted the khan, leaving only the favourite and faithful Abyssynian slave of the Hadjee to guard his master's property.

The invitations were so many, and so pressing, that it was at first thought necessary to refuse them all, for it was impossible to prefer one to another, without giving cause of offence; so that chambers were prepared for us in a large building, called Khan-el-Goomrook, or the Custom-house Khan, where our friends were to rendezvous. Here, indeed, we were quite as well accommodated, and as much at liberty, as we could possibly have been in any private dwelling, having each of us a chamber apart, and a small one besides, in which to meet our friends, though the congratulators were so many, that it was necessary to receive them on the outside.

This khan consisted of an open court, which was, at least, a hundred feet square, and was paved throughout. On two of its sides, were doors of outlet into covered bazārs; on the third, was a range of stables and cloaca; and all around, on the ground-floor, the intervals were filled up by small rooms: flights of

steps there led to an upper story, in front of which were open galleries all around, and chambers, in which were carried on manufactories of cotton, as well as the process of printing them. Through the court below, ran a fine broad stream of transparent water, crossing it diagonally from corner to corner; and as it was descended to by long steps, it served for watering the horses, for the ablutions of the pious, and for the washing of the manufactures above, as they came from the workman's hands, before they were laid out on the flat terrace of the roof to bleach.

This same stream was made contributary, also, to another convenient purpose; all the cloaca being supplied from it with a branch running under them, while it fed a little fountain in each, for the filling a small square cistern, close by the left-hand of the person sitting; so that all impurities were carried off by the stream below, and there was running water always at hand, in which to wash, supplied from above. Another branch of this water filled a reservoir without, from which a supply was procured by cocks, for the convenience of those who might have occasion to use it only in passing. The plan and the

arrangement of the whole was excellent, and the masonry of the building was well executed; yet, from the natural aversion of the Turks to labour, it was not so clean as, with all these advantages, it ought to have been.

Our day was almost entirely passed in receiving visits, which were chiefly from the most respectable merchants of the town ; and, in the evening, we had to attend a supper-party, formed for us by the Hadjee's friends.

It was before sun-set that we assembled at the house of a green-turbanned descendant of the Prophet, to the number of about thirty persons. We were received in a very handsome room, with gilded ceiling, carpeted divans, furnished with silk cushions, and other marks of the occupier's wealth. Among our party were the two Indian fakīrs, who knew their interest too well ever to desert their patron, so that they constantly hung about his person. These men, clad in a bundle of loose rags, scarcely holding together, though bound with many cords and threads, and swarming with vermin, from their never having changed their garments, or perhaps washed their bodies, for the last three years, were seated among the rest along the sofa, and

served with exactly the same attention as others of the company.

This practice of admitting the ragged and dirty to an equal place with the well-clad and clean,—as well as that of suffering the servants of the house to sleep on the divan at night, which equally prevails among the Turks,—occasions the houses of the rich to be almost as subject to vermin as those of the poor. It is thus by no means rare to see the most wealthy and polite among them arrest the crawling intruder in his march over their benishes; and, rather than defile their nails by killing it on them, as is the practice with the poor in Spain and Portugal, they usually blow it off into the middle of the room. They say that they themselves thus remain clean, and there is but a chance at least of the little crawler's ever reaching them again: whereas, though the practice of killing it at once renders that impossible, yet, in their estimation, this act is in itself too grossly shocking to decency to be permitted.

Our supper was served on a large metal salver, highly ornamented with Arabic devices and inscriptions, and containing at least forty dishes; the central one of which was, as usual,

a pilau, and the surrounding ones stewed meats, fruits, and various made dishes. Among our drinks were, iced milk and lebben ; a fine iced sherbet, made with honey, cinnamon-water, and spices; and the iced juice of pomegranates of the last year, diluted with water of roses ; so that one could not regret the want of wine to crown the banquet. The napkin which surrounded the salver, so as to leave a portion large enough to cover the knees of all who sat before it, was of fine silk gauze, embroidered at the edges and ends, and was in one piece of six or eight yards long by a yard broad. Water was served to us in a silver cup, called, in Arabic, "tassé ;" and we washed afterwards over silver ewers. Our evening pipes and coffee were taken on the terrace of the house ; which, being lofty, and seated nearly in the centre of the town, gave us a panoramic view of great extent and beauty.

After sun-set, we retired to the Khan Khoolāh-Oghlee, without the town, as the Hadjee still persisted in refusing to give the marked preference of a permanent abode with any of his friends. They all accompanied us, however, to the gate of the khan itself, where

we separated. Here, too, we found a party formed for our entertainment, by the servants and charitable dependants of the worthy pilgrim; and, though of a humbler kind than that which we had just quitted, it was much more vivacious, and equally entertaining.

The chief personages who figured in this assembly were two Christians, returning, from the Easter festival at Jerusalem, to Mardin, called, by the Turks, Mokhoddesy, and not Hadjee; these titles being derivative from the respective places visited.* The names of these pilgrims were Eesa, or Jesus; and Abdallah, or the Slave of God. The names of Jesus and Mohammed are borne only by the followers of their respective prophets; but Abdallah is common both to Moslems and Christians, though less frequent among the latter, where it is sometimes replaced by the

* The Arabic name of Jerusalem is El Khods, or the Holy: and, by the construction of the language, Mokhoddesy is a name formed to signify persons who have visited it in pilgrimage. In the same manner, El Hadj is the Mohammedan name for the pilgrimage to Mecca; Hedjāz, the name of the Holy Land; and Hadjee, one who has performed the pilgrimage.

name of Abd-el-Meseeah, or the Slave of the Messiah.

Eesa was crowned with a high-pointed bonnet, fringed at the edge, gilded on the sides, and adorned at the top with a bunch of small tinkling bells. Abdallah made a still more grotesque figure, as he was naked to the waist, and had contrived to decorate his head with coloured feathers and cotton wool, which, added to the blue stains, (the symbols of the holy pilgrimage,) with which his body and arms were covered, gave him an appearance somewhat between that of a savage Indian and an ancient Briton, as they are generally represented to us. To complete the resemblance, these men threw themselves into the wildest attitudes, like those of the aboriginal war-dance of America, and to as rude a music.

The band was composed of a drummer, who beat with the palm and fingers of his hands on a large copper pan, turned bottom upwards, and a fifer, who blew into the upper end of a long cane, holding it as a clarionet, and using six stops, as in a flute. These produced, as may be imagined, no sweet or seductive

sounds, though they were sufficiently musical to charm most of the party, who kept time by clapping their hands, as is commonly done in Egypt.

Besides these, there was a little slave boy of the Hadjee's, born in his house, of Abyssinian parents, who, though not yet eight years old, had accompanied his master to Mecca, and was addressed by the honorary title of all who visit the Caaba. This child, and one of the camel boys, a lad of fifteen, sang to each other in responsive verses, which were again repeated, at stated intervals, by the harsh chorus of all the voices of the assembly.

The dance then sunk from savage wildness into the most lascivious movements; the men approached each other, by progressive and mutual advances, and, after an imitation of the warmest union, embraced more firmly, and cried aloud in an ecstacy of pleasure. The song and music followed this change, by more characteristic tones; so that the whole was rather like a Thesmophorian exhibition in honour of Ceres, than what one might conceive to be the sober amusements of a grave Moslem pilgrim, returning from the Temple of his Prophet; or the pious practices of

Christians, still more recently come out from the Tomb of their Saviour, and from witnessing the scenes of persecution and suffering which preceded the death of their God.*

* The lascivious dance here described to have been performed by the Christian and Mohammedan pilgrims, for the amusement of a grave and pious merchant and his suite, is the same which the late Queen Caroline of England was so much reprobated for permitting her Eastern servant, Mahomet, to perform in her presence, during some portion of her travels abroad. It has always prevailed in the East, from whence, in the time of Augustus, it seems to have been introduced into Italy. The reader will, perhaps, remember the passage in Juvenal, which describes the effects produced by Bathyllus's dancing the *Leda Cheironomos*. It may be referred to, either in the original, or in Dryden's Translation, Sat. 6, v. 3; but cannot be transcribed. This dance, says the Delphin editor, which obtained its appellation from Leda, a famous dancer and mimic, was performed by certain gestures of the body and motions of the hand. It was thought to be the highest incitement and stimulant of lust, and was one of St. Cyprian's strongest reasons for denominating the theatre, where it was always performed among the degenerate Romans, "the Sanctuary of Venus." "The woman," says he, "who visits these spectacles, approaches them, perhaps, with modesty in her heart, but leaves them a prey to impurity and intemperance. They move the senses, soften the heart, and expel robust virtue from the honest breast."—*Epist. ad Donat.* The Bathyllus, mentioned by Juvenal, was an Alexandrian, and, as some say, the freedman of Mecænas, by whom he was subjected to

JUNE 5th.—Our khan was crowded this morning by the arrival of a caravan, after a

unnatural pollution.—*Tacit. Ann.* i. 54. This dance is performed by women in Egypt, and was introduced into Spain by the Moors. Volney speaks of it as follows:—"C'est une representation licentieuse de ce que l'amour a de plus hardi. C'est ce genre de dance qui, portée de Carthage à Rome, y annonça le declin des mœurs republicaines, et qui depuis, renouvellée dans l'Espagne par les Arabes, s'y perpétue encore sous le nom de Fandango. Malgré la liberté de nos mœurs, il serait difficile, sans blesser l'oreille, d'en faire une peinture exacte: c'est assez de dire que la danseuse, les bras etendues, d'un air passioné, chantant et s'accompagnant des castagnettes qu'elle tient aux doigts, exécute, sans changer de place, des mouvemens de corps que la passion même a soin de voiler de l'ombre de la nuit."—*Voyages*, t. ii. pp. 403, 404. The Fandango, as at present performed in Spain, is thus described by Swinburne:—"Our evening ended with a ball, where we had, for the first time, the pleasure of seeing the Fandango danced. It is odd and entertaining enough, when they execute with precision and agility all the various footings, wheelings of the arms, and crackings of the fingers; but it exceeds in wantonness all the dances I ever beheld. Such motions, such writhings of the body, and positions of the limbs, as no modest eye can look upon without a blush! A good Fandango lady will stand five minutes in one spot, wriggling like a worm that has just been cut in two."—Vol. i. p. 70. "There were, however, (at Cadiz,) many assemblies and balls of a lower class, where the Fandango was danced *a la ley*, that is, in all the perfection it is capable of. Among the gipseys, there is another dance, called the *Manguindoy*,

journey of two days, from Diarbekr, destined chiefly for Aleppo. It had been thus long on

so lascivious and indecent, that it is prohibited under severe penalties; the tune is quite simple, little more than a constant return of the same set of notes: this, as well as the Fandango, is said to have been imported from the Havannah, being both of negro breed.* I have been told that, upon the coast of Africa, they exhibit a variety of strange dances, pretty similar to these. Whatever may have been the birthplace of the Fandango, it is now so thoroughly naturalized in Spain, that every Spaniard may be said to be born with it in his head and heels: I have seen a child of three years of age dance it to the mother's singing, with steps and turns scarce to be credited in an infant of that age. Towards the close of the great balls given heretofore in the theatre, when all the company appeared drooping with fatigue and overpowered with sleep, it was a constant trick of the fiddlers to strike up the Fandango. In an instant, as if roused from the slumbers of enchantment by the magic touch of a fairy's wand, every body started up, and the whole house resounded with the uproar of the clapping of hands, footing, jumping, and snapping of fingers."—Vol. i. pp. 354, 355. If the reader should be curious to see further accounts of this wanton dance, he may consult Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 222; and Lucian, *de Saltatione*. And in Bayle, art. "Bathylle," he will find some very curious particulars respecting its introduction into Italy. From the following passage of Lady Montague's *Letters*, it will be seen that movements, something very similar to those witnessed in the male performers at Orfah, constitute also a portion of the female amusements enjoyed in the privacy of

* This is an error—they are of *Moorish breed.*

the march, in consequence of the spring, when the mules, of which this was chiefly composed, halt every hour or two to graze. Diarbekr is said to be in nearly a north-east direction from this, and to be six good caravan days' journey off.

We went early into the town, where our day was passed in a round of visits to those who had come to welcome our arrival yesterday, which gave me an opportunity of seeing many of the best houses in the place, as well as many of the upper rank of females. As our train was large, wherever we went the

the Harem :—" Her fair maids were ranged below the sofa, to the number of twenty, and put me in mind of the pictures of the ancient nymphs. I did not think all nature could have furnished such a scene of beauty. She made them a sign to play and dance. Four of them immediately began to play some soft airs on instruments between a lute and a guitar, which they accompanied with their voices, while the others danced by turns. This dance was very different from what I had seen before. Nothing could be more artful, or more proper to raise *certain ideas*. The tunes so soft ! —the motions so languishing !—accompanied with pauses and dying eyes !—*half falling back*, and then recovering themselves in so artful a manner, that I am very positive, the coldest and most rigid prude upon earth could not have looked upon them without thinking of *something not to be spoken of* !"—Vol. ii. Let. 33.

women contrived to get a peep at us from the windows of their apartments, either as we entered or as we quitted the courts of the dwellings, and afforded me as good a sight of themselves in return. This, however, was as purely stolen on my part as on theirs; for as not one of our company ever directed their eyes that way but myself, it was necessary to be the more guarded, to avoid being discovered in the exercise of a curiosity which, however laudable in itself, is here only permitted to the weaker sex. Our constant passage from one quarter of the town to another gave me, also, an opportunity of seeing much of its interior, which it would have been difficult for me to have done otherwise, without a guide, and without the risk of exciting observation.

There was a liberality of conduct displayed towards me by my kind protector, that deserves to be mentioned as peculiar to him. It has been observed, that the term Hadjee is reserved for the true believers in the Koran only; and that Christians, although they have performed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, are called Mokhoddesy, from El Khods, or the Holy, the Arabic translation of the ancient Hebrew, and present modern name. The

salute of "Salām Alaikom," and its answer, "Alaikom Salām," or, "Peace be upon you," and, "Upon you be peace," is permitted to be given and received by Moslems only; as well as the formula before commencing any action, however trifling, "B'ism Illah el Rakhmān el Rakheem." In the name of God, the great and the merciful.* My friend, however, permitted me to be addressed as "Hadjee Aga," or, as we should say, "Sir Pilgrim," by all those who did not know my name, and as "Hadjee Abdallah," by those who did; the latter being the name under which I travelled. When I ate or drank, or washed, or filled my pipe, I constantly repeated the Mohammedan formula; and, on closing the operation, whatever it might be, ended by the grave "Al humd el Illah," or, "To God be praise." This was so far from being thought an infringement

* "J'ai lu que les Européens ont savamment recherché: num inter naturalis debiti et conjugalis officii egerium liceat psallere, orare, &c. J'ignore ce que les Mahométans ont écrit sur cette matière; mais on m'a assûré, qu'accoutumés à commencer toutes leurs occupations par ces mots, Bism allah errahman errachhim, ils disent la même chose ante conjugalis officii egerium, et qu'aucun homme de bien ne neglige cette prière."—*Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, 4to. p. 43.

on sacred privileges, that I never failed to have the usual blessings of "Aneeah," after drinking; "El Hawāf," after washing; or "Naiman," after rising from sleep; which was given to me by every one of the party, individually, and returned to them by the usual answers in the same way.

It was thus that few knew of my being an Englishman, and still fewer of my not being a Moslem. There were, indeed, some among our party, who thought that Mohammedanism was the prevailing religion of our country. They had loosely heard that the English were not so stupid as the other Franks, in setting up gold and silver images in the churches, and perfuming their priests with incense; and they were sure that so brave a nation could not think that the Almighty was a vain and weak woman, which they think is implied in the Catholic notion of the Virgin Mary, who is worshipped as a being delighted with gold and silver, and easily charmed into compliance with our wishes, by seducing odours and sweet smells.

At El Assr, the hour of afternoon prayer, which is midway between noon and sunset, the Hadjee and his son wished to go to the

Mosque, to pray; and I saw that they were evidently embarrassed how to dispose of me in the interval. As we walked together, however, towards the Mosque itself, which was near one of the most interesting parts of the town, I parted from them at the door, with an engagement to wait for them on the side of the lake, at the brink of which it stands, and where I reposed in the shade until their prayers were ended.

This lake, which is called "Birket el Ibrahim el Khaleel," from being in the native city of that patriarch, "Abraham the Beloved, or the Friend of God,"* is filled from a clear spring which rises in the south-west quarter of the town. It then forms a canal, which is two hundred and twenty-five paces long, by twenty-five paces broad; and generally from five to six feet deep. At the west end, where it commences, a room is built to hang over the stream; and at the east, where a small bridge terminates the greater canal, the waters run into a lesser one, which divides itself into many

* It was the birth-place of Abraham and his wife, as well as several of his family, who went out together from this city, Ur of the Chaldees.—See *Genesis*, chap. xi. v. 31.

branches, and is dispersed in streams throughout the town, for the convenience of manufactories, private dwellings, and public khans. On the south side of the canal is a long causeway, the brink of which is nearly level with the water's edge; and behind it are gardens full of large white mulberry trees, as tall and full in foliage as the largest of our English elms. On the opposite side, the eastern half of the northern bank is occupied by the grand façade of the Mosque of the Patriarch, whose name it bears; and its foundations are washed by the waters of the lake, which are also considered to be sacred to him.

The centre of this façade is a square pile of building, from which rise three large domes, of equal size, and a lofty minaret, springing up from amid a cluster of tall and solemn cypress trees. At each end of this central pile, towards the stream, are flights of steps descending to the water's edge, for the ablutions of the pious, each flight occupying the centre of two corresponding open arcades, composed of several arches each. The wings are terminated by two solid masses of building, perfectly uniform in design, and completing one of the most regular edifices of this kind,

to be found, perhaps, in Turkey. Beyond this, and extending to the room at the west end of the lake, is a large garden, filled with mulberry and fig trees, and having smaller bushes overhanging the water's surface.

The Birket or Lake, from being considered as consecrated by devotion to the Patriarch, is visited as well from motives of piety as of pleasure, and seldom fails to have several parties on its banks. Like the one of El Bedāwee at Tripoly, on the coast of Syria, this is filled with an incredible number of fine carp, some of which are two feet in length, and of a proportionate thickness. As the water in which they float is beautifully transparent, they are seen to great advantage ; and it is an act of charity, as well as of diversion, for the visitors there to purchase vegetable leaves and scatter them on the surface, by which the fish are collected literally in heaps. As they are, forbidden to be caught or molested, they multiply exceedingly : and I certainly do not exaggerate in estimating their present number throughout the whole of the canal, and smaller stream, at twenty thousand at least ; and their numbers are constantly on the increase : it being regarded as a sacrilege of the

most unpardonable kind, for any one to use them as food.*

There are some other delicious spots in the neighbourhood of this beautiful Mosque, in shady walks, gardens, and open places bordered with trees; particularly near another fountain and lakeclose by, called "Ain el Zilgah." In the Birket el Ibrahim, both men and boys were swimming, some of whom performed that exer- cise well; and in the lesser lake of Zilgah, we surprised a party of females bathing. The real and unaffected chastity, both of the Hadjee and his son, or at least their prudent exercise of it in all their public deportment,

* There is every reason to believe, that this abstinence is a relic of the ancient superstition of the country, which taught men to worship Dagon, or Venus, under the form of a fish, and, consequently, to abstain from eating their God. It was somewhere in Mesopotamia, that Venus, flying from the violence of Typhon, was metamorphosed into a fish. See Manilius, *Astronom.* iv. Selden *de Diis Syriis*, Syntagm. ii. c. 3. "Timebant," says Selden, "ne sibi membra, si animalibus hisce vescerentur, à vindicta Deæ intumescerent, ulceribus scaterent, aut tabe consumerentur."—Ibid. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. and Xenophon, *Anab.* observe, that the superstitious inhabitants of these countries enumerated fishes among their gods: and Clemens, quoted by Selden, remarks, sneeringly, that the Syrophœnicians paid no less worship to their fish than to Jupiter Eleus.

occasioned them to turn instantly aside, and obliged me to follow them, though we might have enjoyed this picture of natural beauty unobserved, and without disturbing for a moment the supposed seclusion of those who had chosen this retreat.

The Lake of Zilgah, as clear as the finest crystal, had its surface unagitated by the slightest breath of air, the calm that reigned becoming still softer and more balmy as the evening closed. Along its borders were full and verdant bushes, which overhung its waters, and cast at once a refreshing fragrance, and a welcome shade around. These interesting combinations formed as fine a scene, either for poetry or painting, as any of the fountains of Greece could have done, though all the Naiads of the stream had been conjured up to aid its effect.

We went from thence to an enclosed cemetery, called also Ibrahim el Kaleel, part of which was overhung by the rocky cliffs of the eminence on which the castle stands, and the rest darkly shaded by the interwoven branches of trees, literally impervious even to the mid-day sun. Besides many dervishes, both at prayers and at play, with chess-boards,

shells, &c., there were also several parties of females, most of whom were unveiled, as in a retreat too sacred to be intruded on by men. We turned as abruptly from this as we had done from the former scene; and after halting at some of the coffee-houses in our way, we returned to our chambers in the khan.

We found here in waiting a servant of the Patriarch of the Syrian church, who came to congratulate me, in his master's name, on my arrival at Orfah, and to say that, having been informed by letters from Aleppo of my intended passage this way, his Reverence was desirous of seeing me at his convent.

I accordingly accompanied this man to the residence of his master, towards the south-east quarter of the town, to which the church and the burying-ground of the Christians is attached, and which is surrounded chiefly by Christian dwellings. On being shewn up into his room, I was received by a middle-aged personage, of more natural tranquillity than affected gravity of appearance, who did not move from his place, as is usual on the entry of a supposed equal, but desired me to seat myself opposite to him. His conversation was in so low a tone of voice that it was with

difficulty I could understand it, although we were not ten feet apart: it turned chiefly on news, and the state of affairs in general; for, he asked about China, the New World, and the country of the Franks, all in a breath, and seemed more ignorant of them all than any Arab I had yet found.

We were soon relieved from this, by the entry of a Cawass, or silver-stick bearer of the Motesēllem, the Turkish governor of the city, very gaily dressed as a Moslem soldier. My surprise was excited, when I saw him kneel and kiss the Patriarch's hand, until I was told, that though one of the Motesēllem's personal guards, he was known, and avowed as a Christian. This, and a similar instance at Tripoly, in Syria, are the only ones that have come to my knowledge, of Christians being allowed the same privileges of dress as Mohammedans, even when in the actual service of the government.

Soon afterwards, the priests began to assemble, all of whom kissed the hand of the Patriarch, raised it to their foreheads, and then kissed it again a second time. Some of them, when they approached him, even uncovered their heads,—an act of reverential

humility not paid even to sovereigns in Asiatic countries, and observed by the Christians of the East only to their bishops and their God. There were but two of the whole number who could speak Arabic, they being chiefly from the north of Asia Minor, though most of them, except the Patriarch himself, had performed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

At sun-set, we ascended the terrace, where we enjoyed an extensive and commanding prospect of the town, from a new point of view, in which it looked still more interesting than before. We saw from hence many of the inner courts of Christian houses, with the females unveiled; among whom, one peculiarity was pointed out to me, namely, that while virgins, they wear a red cloth of cotton over their head, to distinguish them from Moslem girls; but, that when they become mothers, their having borne children entitles them to the same privilege as the women of the country, and from thenceforward they wear white muslin, as is done by Turkish females.

I had been so pressed to remain the night here, that it would have been an ill return for my host's kindness to refuse, so that I sat down with the rest to supper. Previous to

the meal, a small plate of fried fish, (stolen, it was admitted, from the Birket el Ibrahim,) was placed before us, of which all partook. Rakhee, or brandy distilled from dates, was then served from a rude image of a bird moulded in clay, the stream being made to issue from its mouth, and each of the guests drank from ten to twelve china coffee-cups of this strong spirit, before supper began. In serving the Patriarch, the same reverence was shewn to him as had been done below. When the cup was given to him, or when it was taken away, when his pipe was presented, or when he wiped his mouth with a napkin after drinking, his hand was invariably kissed by the priests who attended him.

Our supper was composed of several good dishes, and a bright moon was the lamp by which we ate. Towards its close, a cannon was discharged to announce the execution of a Janissary, that mode of proclaiming their death being an honour reserved for their class, as beheading is for the nobility in England, while inferior persons, not belonging to this class, are here sent out of life without such a formality. One of the priests having unfeelingly exclaimed, "Ah! there is another child of the

devil gone to his father's bosom," was followed by several others, saying, "Al humd ul Illah," or "Thanks be to God;" and all prayed rather for the destruction, and utter rooting out of the Turks, than for their conversion to a purer faith. In this the Patriarch did not actually join, nor did he, on the other hand, at all rebuke it. It led to a conversation of the most fanatic and blood-breathing kind, in which they seemed to pant only for an occasion to persecute their oppressors with more than tenfold return for injuries received.

From the library of the Patriarch, a sort of General History was then produced, describing in one volume the leading events of the world, from Adam down to the first taking of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans. This was written in the Arabic language, with the Syriac character, and called therefore, "Gurshoonee;" as the Arabic and Syriac are distinct languages, having each a distinct character, while in this dialect they are both mixed together. From this book, some horrid details were read of the cruelties practised on the Christians, and it was then asked, "What! if the occasion offers, shall we not revenge ourselves?" I answered, that the head of that

religion himself had said to his followers, "Bless them that persecute you, pray for them that despitefully use you;" and, "if thine enemy smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other, or if he take away thy cloak from thee, give unto him thy coat also." All of them knew these passages of Scripture well enough, but said they applied only to personal injuries, and not to those inflicted on the cause of their holy faith; an interpretation which, however ingenious, served only to prove how pre-eminent are the feelings of our nature over doctrines and precepts intended to counteract them.

The remainder of our evening was passed in theological disputes, as bitter as they could well be, though between members of the same church, and on points held to be unimportant, merely appertaining to faith and doctrine, uniformity in which is considered far less essential than in ceremonial rites; for all were considered by this party to be orthodox Christians, who made the cross and took the sacrament in the same manner with themselves, however much they might differ from them in other respects.

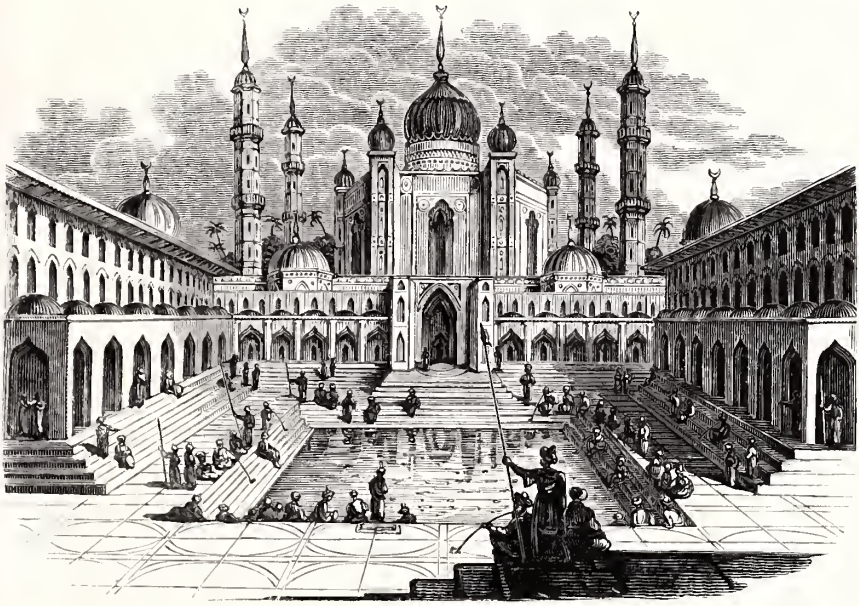
CHAPTER V.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF ORFAH—THE EDESSA OF THE GREEKS, AND THE UR OF THE CHALDEES.

I ENJOYED a night of delicious rest, in a clean bed and clean linen, with the additional luxury of being undressed, and free from tormenting vermin; as we slept on the highest terrace of the house, in the open air, while the priests reposed below.

Our morning pipe was smoked beneath a fine pomegranate tree, about twenty feet in height, in the middle of the court. Its rich green glossy leaves, contrasted with the fine scarlet flowers of the fruit just budding from their stems, looked fresh and beautiful; and its boughs were visited by black starlings, of which there were a great many here, as familiar

CHAPTER V.



MOSQUE OF ABRAHAM,

IN HIS NATIVE CITY, UR OF THE CHALDEES.

and nearly as numerous as the sparrows of the country.

During the remainder of the day, my leisure was employed in arranging the notes which I had made to guide my inquiries in this town; and, after this, in visiting those parts of it which I had not yet seen, and completing the examination of it; in the course of which, I met every where with civility and respect.

Orfah is conceived, by all the learned Jews and Mohammedans, as well as by the most eminent scholars among the Christians, to have been the Ur of the Chaldees, from whence Abraham went forth to dwell in Haran, previous to his being called from thence, by God, to go into Canaan, the land promised to himself, and to his seed for ever.* The Jews say, that this place is called in Scripture Ourcasdin, that is, the Fire of Chaldea, out of which, say they, God brought

* Genesis, c. xi. v. 3; and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1, c. 6, s. 5.—"And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there."

Abraham; and, on this account, the Talmudists affirm that Abraham was here cast into the fire and was miraculously delivered.*

This capital of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Padan Aram and Aram Nahraim of the Hebrews,† the Mesopotamia of the Greeks,‡ and the Paradise of the Poets,§ received, from its Macedonian conquerors, the name of Edessa; and an abundant fountain which the city enclosed, and called, in Greek, Callirrhoe, communicated this name to the city itself. In later times it was called Roha, or, with the article of the Arabs, Or-rhoa, and by abbreviation, Orha.‖

D'Anville thinks, that this last name may be derived from the Greek term signifying a fountain; or, according to a nother opinion, it may refer to the founder of this city, whose name is said to have been Orrhoi, now retained, with some little corruption, in Orfah, or Urfah.¶

* Pococke, vol. i. p. 159.

† Genesis, c. 28, and Josephus.

‡ From μεσος, medius; and ποταμος, fluvius.

§ Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

‖ Cellarius *Geographiæ Antiq.*, lib. 3, c. 16.

¶ *Compendium of Ancient Geography*, v. i. p. 426.

Pococke says, "This place seems to have retained its ancient name, as many others have done,—Edessa being the name given to it by the Greeks. However, the name of this city seems to have been changed in honour of the Kings of Syria, of the name of Antiochus, and to have been called Antiochia."* The famous fountain of Callirrhoe being here, distinguished this city from others by the name of "Antiochia ad Callirrhoen;" and there are medals which were struck with this name, though, if it had not been explained by Pliny, it would have been difficult to know what place was meant.†

Niebuhr, however, observes, that the Turks still call the district here, El-Rohha; because a city of the same name, which had been for the most part ruined, was anciently the residence of the Pasha.‡

For myself, I can confidently affirm that it is called Orfah by *all* the Turks, and by the greater part of the Koords and Arabs of the

* Pococke, vol. i., part i., c. 17, p. 159, folio.

† "Arabia supradicta habet oppida Edessam, quæ quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirrhoen a fonte nominatam." —Plin. Nat. lib. 5, 21.

‡ Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 332, 4to.

surrounding country; but Rohha by a *few* of the latter only, and these chiefly Christians. I could meet with none, however, among either, who were able to give a satisfactory reason for the retention of this last name,—all of them believing that Orfah was its original appellation in the time of Abraham's dwelling here.*

Edessa was thought, even by the early geographers, to be so ancient, that in the time of Isidore of Charax, Nimrod was named as its founder; and the traditions current among the

* Mr. Gibbon erred in supposing Edessa to have been only twenty miles beyond the Euphrates, it being considerably more than that distance from the nearest part of the river in a straight line.—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

D'Anville says, that Edessa was placed in the lat. of 36°, and stood at the head of the river Scirtas; the latest authorities make its latitude about 37° 10′ N.

This author adds, regarding its name:—"On lit dans Pline, (ed. in folio, tome i. p. 268, note 8,) parlant d'Edesse en Osroène, nunc vulgo creditur esse *Orpha*, et alio rursum nomine *Rhoa*: sed verius citra Chaborem amnem, cui Orpha imposita est, fuisse veteram Edessam putamus. Quoiqu'il soit commun dans l'usage vulgaire d'appeller cette ville Orfa, cela n'empêche pas que son nom pur et sans altération ne soit *Roha*, que la denomination Grecque, Callir-rhoe, lui a donnée."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 12.

people here, at the present day, ascribe the building of their castle to that "mighty hunter before the Lord."

Before the conquest of this city by the Romans, it was the capital of Osrhoene, an independent kingdom, which occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, and whose inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians.* This capital, which had taken its name of Edessa under the empire of the Seleucides, from that of a considerable town in Macedonia, still retained it under its change of fortune, as a Roman colony, when it became, from its position, one of the barriers opposed to the Parthians, and to the Persians of the Sassanian dynasty.

It was about the time of Christ that it ceased to be subject to its own princes, as Abgarus is said to have written a letter to Jesus, declaring faith in him, and desiring his presence to cure him of a disease. This same Abgarus was the

* "The polished citizens of Antioch called those of Edessa mixed barbarians. It was, however, some praise, that of the three dialects of the Syriac, the purest and most elegant (the Aramæan) was spoken at Edessa."—*Gibbon*, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

last King of Edessa, who was sent in chains to Rome, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, when the Roman power was firmly established beyond the Euphrates.*

In the time of Julian the Apostate, or A. D. 361, the sect of the Arians flourished at Edessa, where they committed great disorders, for which the whole property of their church was confiscated; the money being distributed among the soldiers; the lands added to the general domain; and this act of oppression aggravated by the most ungenerous irony.†

It is asserted, that Edessa was re-edified, A. D. 545, by Justinian, the great builder of churches to Saints in the East, and during his reign was called, after him, Justinopolis. It was probably too the Antoniopolis, a city of Mesopotamia, mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and so called from the assassination there of Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla. This

* Gibbon, vol. i. c. 8, p. 335.

† "I shew myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans. Their admirable law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved, by my assistance, from the load of temporal possessions."—*Gibbon*, vol. iv. c. 23, p. 129.

son of the Emperor Severus—who killed his brother Geta in his mother's arms, married and lived publicly with his own mother, slaughtered some thousands at Alexandria, for jestingly calling him an Œdipus and his wife a Jocasta, and at last assumed the name and dress of Achilles, proclaiming himself the conqueror of provinces which he had never seen—was assassinated at Edessa, by Macrinus, A.D. 217, in the forty-third year of his age, and, on his body being sent to his wife Julia, she also stabbed herself on the spot.*

In the early ages of the Church, Edessa was famous for the possession of a certain image, thought to represent the genuine features of the Son of God, and held up as the Palladium of this honoured city. After a long imprisonment in a niche of the wall, where it had lain in oblivion for five hundred years, this image was released by a bishop, and presented to the devotion of the people. Its first exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of the Persian Chosroes Nushirivan; and it was soon revered, as a pledge of the Divine promise, that Edessa never should be taken by

* Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

a foreign enemy. It had been exposed on the ramparts during the battle; and the final delivery of the city from its enemies was attributed to its influence; after which, the image itself was not only preserved with respect and gratitude, but hymns were even addressed to it in the full choir of the church.*

Toward the close of the fifth century, the heresy of the Nestorians was received in the church of Edessa, after it had been driven from Ephesus and Chalcedon.†

Although Edessa had for a considerable period resisted the Persian force, it at length became involved in the common ruin; and after being relied on as the chief protection of the city for three hundred years, the "Palladium" was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Mussulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.‡

* Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 49, p. 119.—The fallen fragments of another celebrated image, the Colossus of Rhodes, were sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass. —Vol. ix. c. 51, p. 425.

† Gibbon, vol. viii. c. 47, p. 339.

‡ The prudent Franciscan, Pagi, in his Criticism, re-

It was in the reign of Heraclius, or about A. D. 637, that the Saracens, under the second Khalif Omar, completed the conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia, when the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor and Nushirivan, were levelled in the dust.*

It again reverted to the Christians, however, some centuries afterwards, when Baldwin, one of the celebrated heroes of the first Crusade, founded there, in the year 1097, the first principality of the Franks, or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years on the western border of Mesopotamia.†

fuses to determine, says Gibbon, whether the Image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or at Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.—Vol. ix. c. 49, p. 122.

In the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, when the camps, both of Europe and Asia, were agitated with frequent and furious seditions, the enraged soldiers of Edessa pursued with reproaches, with threats, with wounds, their trembling generals; they overturned the statues of the emperor, cast stones against this miraculous image of Christ, and either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws, or substituted a dangerous model of voluntary subordination.—Vol. viii. c. 46, p. 205.

* Ibid. vol. ix. c. 51, p. 424. † Vol. xi. c. 58, p. 64.

It was during the existence of this principality, that the

It was then subjected to its present possessors, by the arms of Zenghi, the son of Ascan-

Counts of Edessa, from whom the Courtenay family of France, and now of England, are descended, first arose; although a French knight of some opulence first founded the Castle of Courtenay, about fifty-six miles to the south of Paris. From the reign of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the Barons of Courtenay are conspicuous among the immediate vassals of the crown; and Joscelin, the grandson of Atho and a noble dame, is enrolled among the heroes of the first Crusade. He became attached to the standard of his cousin, Baldwin of Bruges, who was the second Count of Edessa; and after the departure of his cousin, Joscelin himself was invested with the county of Edessa, on both sides of the Euphrates. After a holy warfare of thirty years, in which he was alternately a conqueror and a captive, he died like a soldier, in a horse-litter, at the head of his troops; beholding, with his last glance, the flight of his Turkish invaders. His son and successor, of the same name, while enjoying the peaceful luxury of Turbessel, in Syria, neglected the defence of the Christian frontier beyond the Euphrates; and it was in his absence from it that Zenghi, the first of the Attabegs, besieged and stormed his capital, Edessa, and drove Courtenay himself to end his days in the prison of Aleppo. The Countess Dowager of Edessa retired to Jerusalem, with her two children: the daughter, Agnes, became the mother of a king; the son, Joscelin the Third, accepted the office of Seneschal, the first of the kingdom, and held his new estates in Palestine by the service of fifty knights. His name appears with honour in all the transactions of peace and war, but he finally vanishes in the fall of Jerusalem; and the

sar, a valiant Turk, who had been so avowedly the favourite of his sovereign Malek Shah, as to have the sole privilege of standing on the right hand of his throne. Zenghi gave the first pledge of his valour against the Franks, in the defeat of Antioch. Thirty campaigns, in the service of the Khalif and the Sultan, established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mousul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the Prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of twenty-five days, he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates.*

This event is variously fixed in the years 1142—1144; and thirty years afterwards, Salah-el-din, who had first come out from Armenia, and to whom Nour-ed-din, the Sultan of Syria, had confided the government of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, rendered himself master of Edessa.†

name of Courtenay, in this branch of Edessa, was lost by the marriage of his two daughters with a French and a German baron.—*Gibbon*, vol. ix. c. 61.

* Ibid. vol. xi. c. 59, p. 122.

† D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 14. 4to. Paris, 1779.

The early travels of the Jewish Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, which were commenced in the year 1173, mention Edessa under the name of Dakia, which would seem to be a Syriac corruption of Antiochia, a name it is said once to have borne.* The whole of Mesopotamia is called by this traveller the Land of Sennaar, as if intended for the Shinar of the Scriptures.† Dakia, the ancient Chalné, is spoken

These scattered notices respecting Edessa, or Orfah, having been compiled with some care, are now given in a connected and chronological order, for the purpose of filling up the interval between its scriptural and its present condition, by the intermediate links of its history in the middle ages: especially as Orfah, or Edessa, is one of the cities of the East, of which less appears to be popularly known by readers of the present day, than any other that can be named. We shall soon pass, however, from research to description.

* Independamment du nom d'Edesse, cette ville aurait pris sous les Seleucides le nom d'Antioche. (Polybe, lib. 5.) Quoique, selon les auteurs très graves, comme on verra par la suite, la même denomination soit appliquée à Nisibis, plus reculée en Mesopotamie, le temoignage de Pline (lib. 5, c. 24) n'est point équivoque en faveur d'Edesse. 'Edessa,' dit-il, 'quæ quondam Antiochia vocabatur, Callirrhoen à fonte nominatam.'—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 12.

† This land, however, was south of Nineveh, and not far from Babylon, as may be seen in Genesis, c. x. v. 10—11.

of by him as the commencement of this land, and is said, in his day, to have had many Jews there, with a synagogue, built by Esdras the scribe, on his return from Babylon. This is unquestionably the Orfah or Rahhah of the present day; and if any doubt remained on the subject, it would be set at rest by the fact of Benjamin's describing Hharran, the ancient residence of the Patriarch Abraham, as only two days' journey from thence.*

In the thirteenth century, during the invasion of western Asia by the Moguls or Tartars, from whom the Turks of Constantinople are descended, Edessa was sacked by them during three whole days; and two centuries afterwards, suffered equally from the armies of Timur Beg, or Tamerlane.†

The changes which it has undergone since that period are not easily to be traced. The earliest notice that I have met with of Edessa, in comparatively modern works, is that contained in the Travels of De Haiton. It is there called Rohais, and is said to be a city of the kingdom of Abgar, to whom was sent the

* Benjamin de Tudele, in Bergeron's Collection.

† D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 14.

image of Veronica, then at Rome.* This city is named, with the Euphrates, as the most western boundary of Mesopotamia, and close to Harran, the country from whence Abraham was called.† It is, therefore, undoubtedly the Rahhah of the Arabs, and the Orfah of its present governors, the Turks.

In the year 1644, it was passed through by Tavernier, on his way from Aleppo to Ispahan. He says of it, "Orfah is the capital city of Mesopotamia, built, as they say, in the place where Abraham lived, and where stood the ancient Edessa, where the people of the country report that King Abgarus held his court. There are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, from whence, they add, that the same king sent to Christ for his picture."‡

In the summer of 1738, our own celebrated traveller, Pococke, visited it; and, at that period, it seems to have arisen from a ruined state to one of opulence—if the difference be not

* Of the pictures chiefly venerated by the early Christians, the most ambitious aspired to a fraternal relation with the Image of Edessa; and such is the Veronica of Spain, or Rome, or Jerusalem.—*Gibbon*, vol. ix. c. 49, p. 120.

† From Bergeron's Collection.

‡ Travels of Tavernier. London, 1678, folio, p. 68.

rather in the details of the narrators than in the state of the place itself. Tavernier had said, "The walls of the city are of freestone, with battlements and towers, but within, the houses are small, ill-built, and ruinous; and there are several void spaces in the city, which makes Orfah to look rather like a desert than a metropolis."* Pococke, however, describes it as having a great trade in his time, and being very flourishing; and, on his visit to the castle, he says, "From hence, there is a very delightful prospect of the city, the water, the gardens, and the plain to the north, which make it, in every respect, a very charming place."†

In the spring of 1766, the Danish traveller, Niebuhr, passed through this town, on his way from Bagdad to Aleppo, and it was then in an equally flourishing state, though his stay there was too short to admit of his giving any minute details of its condition.‡

Orfah is seated on the eastern side of a hill, at the commencement of a plain; so that while

* Tavernier, p. 68.

† Pococke, vol. ii. part 1, c. 17, p. 160.

‡ The outline ground-plan which he has given of the city seems to be tolerably accurate.—Vol. ii. p. 330. 4to.

its western extremity stands on elevated ground, its eastern is on a lower level; and, with very trifling variations, the whole of the town may be said to be nearly flat. The wall by which it is surrounded encloses a circuit of from three to four miles, and appears to trace out, in its course, an irregular triangle; the west side of which runs nearly north and south; the southern side, east-south-east and west-north-west; and the third, or longest side, on the north-east, connecting the two others by a line of north-west and south-east. The length of the shortest of these sides is a mile, and the space within is well filled; there being few open places in the town, and where trees are seen, they are generally in streets or courts, or before coffee-houses or places of public resort.

The town is bounded on the west, by modern burying-grounds, gardens, hills, and vales; on the north, by rising land; on the east, by a fertile plain, terminating at the foot of a bare ridge of hills; on the north-east, by this same plain, extending to an horizon like the sea, where it runs into the sandy desert; and on the south-west, by a high hill, nearly overlooking the town, and crowned with the walls of a

ruined castle. The houses are all built of stone, and are of as good masonry, and as highly ornamented, as those of Aleppo. They have mostly a small door of entrance from the street, with an open court, and divans, in recesses below; while the upper story is laid out in rooms of reception, more expensively furnished. Above this is the terrace, on which, in many instances, are raised central benches, railed around, so as to form sofas, or beds, as occasion may require; and it is here that the morning pipe is enjoyed, the evening meal taken, and the whole of the night passed, in summer, by the inhabitants. The Harem, or the wives and children of the family,—which that word strictly means, without reference to any number of either,—live here, as much apart from the males as throughout the rest of Turkey, generally occupying a small suite of rooms by themselves, at the other end of the court, into which there is no communication but by passing across that court, and thus being publicly seen by all the inmates of the dwelling.

The streets are narrow, but having a paved causeway on each side, with a central channel for water, and, being more or less on a sloping

ground, they are generally clean. On the outer doors of many of the dwellings here, I had observed, as at Beer and Aleppo, the inscription of ماشالله (Mash Allah,) with a date beneath, which I now learned was a privilege granted to pilgrims only. The exclamation itself is one generally used in common discourse, to express wonder and admiration, and has here, no doubt, the same application. The date attached is that of the year of the Hejira in which the pilgrimage of the dweller was performed. In commenting on this practice, they never fail to compare it with what they consider the absurd usage of the Christians, who mark their arms and bodies with various figures of saints and angels, to commemorate a similar event. "Ours," say they, "is a confession to all who pass our dwelling of the pious work we have performed, and is never concealed even from the eye of the stranger, since we are not ashamed of the precepts of our Prophet. The emblems of the Christian, on the contrary, are not to be seen but when his body is uncovered, and then it is but to shew how men can deface the beauty of the human form, which came in the perfection of excellence from the hand of its Maker."

The bazārs are numerous and well supplied, and are separated, as usual, into departments, each appropriated to the manufacture and sale of particular commodities. The shoe bazār is small, but peculiarly neat and clean, being wider than the others, and roofed over with a fine arched covering of masonry, whitewashed within, and admitting the light and air from without through grated windows at the top. Most of the other bazārs are also covered, and are always fresh, cool, and sheltered both from rain and sunshine. That in which muslins, cottons, and other piece-goods are sold, is equal to any of the bazārs either at Smyrna, Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo. It is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide, including the benches of the shops on each side, which are all fitted up as divans, with carpets and cushions. It is, at least, from thirty to forty feet high, and covered in throughout its whole length by a range of fine domes, in succession, admitting light and air by a sort of lantern-windows in the roof.

This bazār is amply furnished with the manufactures of India, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey, and with some few Cashmeer shawls and Angora shalloons; but English articles,

which are held in the highest estimation, are extremely rare. I repeatedly heard, indeed, expressions of wonder, as well as regret, from dealers in this bazār itself, at the failure of the usual importations of British goods from Aleppo. Formerly, it appears, there were many English merchants established there, who furnished regular supplies of cloths, shalloons, printed cottons, arms, hardware, and glass. At this moment, there is not one of these establishments existing; and the few bales of cloth, which are to be had from the remaining Frank dealers of Aleppo, are complained of, as being of a much worse quality, and higher price, than those they had been accustomed to receive. If the English Factory at Aleppo should ever again recover from its decline, there is little doubt but that its trade would be soon as extensive as ever, since the superiority of British goods, of every description, seems to have been better learnt by privation of them, than by their actual use.

The khans, or caravanserais, are numerous, and some few excellent. The Khan Khoolah-Oghlee, on the skirts of the town, in which the merchandize of our caravan was lodged, could accommodate, in its central court, a hundred

camels, with their lading; in the stables around it, as many horses, mules, and asses; and, in the chambers above, nearly two hundred persons. At the head of it, is a good reservoir of water, replenished by a constant running stream, and overhung by a thick-foliaged tree, beneath which the passengers enjoy the pleasures of water, shade, and repose. The Khan-el-Goomrook, in which we were lodged in the town, has already been described. The chambers below and above could not be less than a hundred, many of them large enough to admit eight or ten persons to sit at a time, most of them furnished with mats, carpets, and cushions, and all forming convenient apartments for the stranger, during the period of his sojourning here. This khan communicates, by one of its gates, with the great domed bazār already described, and by another gate with the street. Over this last, is a mosque, expressly for the accommodation of the devout traveller, since it is never visited but by those within the khan, the passage to it being by flights of steps, ascending upward from its inner court. The stranger is thus furnished with every convenience he can need, without the necessity of quitting the

walls of his abode; as he has stabling, water, lodgings, and food, close at hand, to be brought to him prepared in any way he may desire; with a house of prayer, in which to offer up his devotions to his Creator.

The mosques that are crowned with minarets, and seen from without, amount, in number, to about fifteen. That of Ibrahim el Khaleel has already been described: it is the most beautiful in its exterior, though not the largest; and it is also held in the highest reverence and esteem, from its lake teeming with the fish therein preserved in honour of that Patriarch.

The people here believe, that, even if these fish were taken, no process of cooking would make any impression on their bodies, or render them at all fit for food. On my first hearing this, I considered it only as one of the superstitions of the very lowest class, ingeniously imposed upon them, perhaps, to prevent their disturbing a source of supply to the tables of the higher orders of society; but in a party on the banks of the stream itself, composed of some of the most sensible, respectable, and liberal-minded men in the place, I heard this opinion gravely re-echoed from voice to voice,

as one of the incontrovertible proofs of the care which the venerable Patriarch took of his native city, and of the approbation with which he looked down on their labours, to embellish, with spreading trees and running waters, the temples which they had reared there to his covenanted God.

I could have assured them, that, only on the preceding evening, I had eaten of some of these fish, which had been stolen from the lake by Christians, who thought it less criminal to commit a theft than to sup without some of those delicate morsels, to relish the arrack, of which they drank so copiously before their supper began. Such a disclosure, however, would have brought them into trouble, and their religion, perhaps, into persecution—two evils, certainly not worth incurring, for the sake of undeceiving men in an error of so harmless a tendency.

The largest of the mosques at Orfah has a square steeple, and this form is also repeated in one of the smaller ones; at the top of which are open double windows in each face, as in the square towers of the Haurān; the division being here made by Corinthian columns, which would seem to mark it as an early

Christian work. The general form, however, of the minaret, is circular, with a gallery of open stone work near the top, and the summit is crowned by a pointed cone, surmounted by the crescent of the faith. On many of these, a large bird builds its nest of reeds and bushes, to the size of the head of a small tree, and often as large as the whole diameter of the minaret itself. It is said to be a bird of passage, coming here in spring to breed its young, and remaining during the summer; when, in winter, it goes away into a southern and warmer clime, either into the Deserts of Arabia, or to some region still more remote. It is called, by the people, "Hadjee Lug lug;" the former, from its making a yearly pilgrimage and building chiefly on mosques; and the latter, from the sound made by its broad and heavy wings when flying. I had seen the bird itself only at a distance, and from thence judged it to be a very large kind of stork; not, however, so large as the immense bird called the Adjutant, which makes similar periodical visits to the banks of the Ganges, and the lakes of Bengal.

The baths of Orfah, of which there are four or five, are large, and some are reported to be

extremely good. The one into which I went being the nearest to our khan, was spacious, but dirty and badly attended. It is true, that it was in the afternoon, when many of the male attendants were gone; as it is the custom in all the large towns for the baths to be open from daybreak until El Assr for the men, and from that time till sunset for the women. On our leaving it, the female attendants were already assembling in the outer room, preparing the beds and cushions; and at the porch without, were a large party of ladies chattering aloud, and expressing their impatience for our removal, that they might be admitted.

The manufactories of the town are confined chiefly to articles of the first necessity, among which cotton and woollen cloths have the pre-eminence in extent of consumption. The first of these are about the quality of coarse English dowlass, and are used in their original state for the shirts and drawers of men, for the inner garments of women, and for many domestic purposes. When printed, they are convertible to more various uses, as they are then made into gowns, or outer robes, for females, shawls for the head, and coverings for beds and sofas; and by being printed of a

peculiar pattern, they are used for the fronts of the large cushions that surround a Turkish divan.

The process of printing their cottons is very slow and tedious, and renders the cloth in that state nearly double the price that it bears when white. A number of men and boys were arranged along one of the upper galleries of the Goomrook-Khan, seated on the ground, and having before them low tables, perhaps a foot in height. Beside each person was a kettle, containing the ink, or dye, of the colour required. On his left hand was bound a block of wood, of the size and shape of a clothes-brush, and the under face of this was covered with the pattern to be stamped, like the printing blocks of the Chinese. This, being dipped in the ink, was placed on the cloth, the left hand closed into a fist resting above it, and by a blow on it with the fist of the right hand, the impression was made. As this was repeated for every colour, and every new form, and not more than from four to six square inches were printed at a blow, the patterns were, of course, imperfectly executed, and the whole process very slowly performed.

While examining this manufactory, I repre-

sented myself as a Muggrebin, or Barbary merchant, who had been in Europe, and described to them, as well as I could, the improved methods used among us for all these operations. Their admiration was very powerfully excited, and the director of the establishment made me an offer of a very handsome remuneration, if I would remain a few weeks at Orfah, to superintend such improvements as the mechanics of the town might make, under my direction. I would have gladly accepted it, had I been free from other engagements; as there is no way, perhaps, in which men can be more usefully employed, than in advancing the domestic arts, in improving the labours, and in increasing the comforts of their fellow-creatures, of whatever country, climate, or religion they may be. Missionaries dispersed into different quarters of the globe for this purpose, would do more in a few years towards civilizing and uniting the discordant parts of it, than all the merely religious societies have done since their first establishment.

The woollen cloths made here are of a still coarser kind than the cotton, and about equal to that used in England for sailors' winter

jackets. It is mostly brown, from the original colour of the wool, though sometimes it is dyed with indigo. It is used only for the commonest purposes.

A few carpets are made, of a very good quality; some hair-cloth, for sacks and bags; and silk bands and tapes, of an excellen kind. Every description of sadlery and smith's work is well executed; and the labours of the mason and the carpenter are equal to those of the largest Turkish cities.

The cook-shops and coffee-houses are abundant, in proportion to the size of the town. In the former are prepared, mutton, and sausages without skins, called kabaub; these last are formed of meat cut into small pieces, which are first strung on a thread, and then wound round an iron skewer, and roasted at the fire. Another kind of food, having a round ball of paste without, and mixed ingredients within, is called koobbé; besides which, are other little *pâtés* of minced meat. These are to be had at every moment; and at half an hour's notice, a meal may be prepared, of any dishes one might desire, and either eaten in the cook-shop, or at a coffee-house, a khan, or a private dwelling.

Among other vegetables abounding here, is a fine large lettuce, of which people eat at all hours of the day, without salt, or any other accompaniment; and leeks, or onions, in their raw state, are generally served up with meat.

In the coffee-houses, nargeels, an instrument for smoking through water, may be had, though the long Turkish pipe is in more general use; this last is always furnished by the smoker, which the nargeel is not, perhaps from the ease of carrying the former, and the inconvenience of bearing about the latter, from place to place. During all the summer, there is also an abundant supply of solid ice, brought down from the summits of Mount Taurus, in a journey of a day and night. About an English pound of this is sold at present for a para or a farthing, and is a cheap and healthy refreshment, accessible to the poorest of the people. Iced milks, and sherbets of honey, cinnamon water, and perfumes, are also made for the rich, and furnish a great luxury during the heat of the day. I sought diligently in the ice-shops for some fragment of stone, which might have been brought down with the snow, for the sake of ascertaining of what material

the range of Taurus is composed, but could obtain only some very small pieces, which were all of lime.

The fruits of Orfah are chiefly the white mulberry, the quince, the apricot, the fig, the pistachio nut, the grape, and the pomegranate; the three first of these were now in perfection, and the latter were just beginning to form. There are neither lemons, oranges, nor melons to be seen.

In the streets are often trees, beneath the shade of which the inhabitants repose—to take fruit or ice, or a pipe and coffee. Here they sing to the stream that runs by, accompanied sometimes by a Turkish guitar; or play at chess or some other game, and pass away their hours in great apparent happiness.

The population of Orfah may be estimated at fifty thousand inhabitants, among whom are about two thousand Christians, and five hundred Jews; the rest being all Mohammedans.

The Christians are chiefly Armenians and Syrians, each of whom have a separate church, and live in a separate quarter; and are so distinct, that, besides their different rites, their language, and the very character in which it is written, are totally unlike each other. The

Armenian and Syriac tongues are confined, however, to their domestic circles and their religious duties; for in their intercourse with strangers, Turkish is the language chiefly used by the former, and Arabic the tongue spoken by the latter. Both the Christians and the Jews are merchants and traders; the one moving more frequently from place to place with caravans, and the other remaining stationary in the bazārs. I could not learn with certainty whether the Jews have a synagogue here or not; but should think, from their number, that they possessed some place of worship apart from their dwellings.

The tradition of the Image of Edessa, and the story of Abgarus, seem to be almost forgotten, both by the Christians and Jews; though the well, in which was placed the letter of Abgarus addressed to Christ, is still pointed out.

Among the Moslems, the men dress more like the people of Damascus than of any other town; the large overhanging tarboosh is universally worn, and the shawls are generally large, of bright and lively colours, and fringed and tasselled at the edges and corners. The "coat of many colours," with the

reversed pyramid on its back and shoulders, is also worn here, and the whole of the dress is of corresponding gaiety. The only marked peculiarity which I noticed was, that the sleeves of the shirt, which in other places are usually cut round even at the wrist, have here one side cut away to a point reaching long enough to touch the ground. While walking, or using the arms in any way, these points are brought to meet, and are tied together behind the neck, by which means they keep up the loose outer sleeves over the arm. When sitting on the divan, however, they are loosened, and are then often used as a towel, or a handkerchief, to wipe the mouth and hands; though it is still the fashion here, as elsewhere, to carry an embroidered towel for that purpose, hanging from the sash, or girdle, behind. The women dress with white outer robes, and are veiled by a black stiff gauze, which projects several inches from the face, and gives them more liberty of air and sight than is enjoyed by those who wear the Constantinopolitan costume.

All classes of people resident at Orfah are extremely subject to eruptions in the face, like those which are common at Aleppo, but

in a much more extensive degree. Among the inhabitants of this place, I did not see one in five exempt from it; while at Aleppo, not more than half the population, perhaps, have been affected by it. Here, too, the marks left by the eruptions were more numerous and deforming, sometimes covering the whole face, often preventing the growth of the beard in particular spots, and otherwise detracting much from the beauty of the people, who are, in all other respects, a well-made and handsome race. At Aleppo, this eruption, or the worm which occasions it, is thought to be engendered by the water, and here it is conceived to be done by the air; both, probably, vague means of accounting for what is but imperfectly examined into, or known. At Orfah, other causes may contribute to it:— such as the quantity of ice consumed by all classes, from the lowest to the highest; the abundance of raw lettuces eaten at all times and seasons, without bread, salt, or other ingredient; the equal abuse of mulberries, eaten often in an unripe state; and the quality of the water of the Lake of Abraham, filled as it is by so many thousands of fish, which must render it less wholesome: but which

of these causes may contribute most to the evil, it is not easy to pronounce.

The government of Orfah is under the Pasha of Diarbekr, who pays an occasional visit to it, with his troops, and in his absence deputes a Motesēllem, or Governor, with a few personal guards. As at Aleppo, the great mass of the people are Janissaries and Shereefs, who predominate alternately, but who were, at this moment, both in tranquil subjection to the reigning governor—a man personally respected and feared by all.

The language of Orfah is mostly Turkish. In the bazārs scarcely any other tongue is understood; but Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Koordish, Arabic, and Persian, are all spoken by their respective classes of people. The native inhabitants, as far as I had an opportunity of seeing their manners, in their familiar intercourse among themselves, are well-bred, complimentary, yet perfectly at ease in the exercise of their politeness, and tolerant to strangers and men of different faiths.

JUNE 7th.—After taking our morning meal, in a party of about thirty persons, at the house of a rich merchant, I embraced an opportunity,

while they were discussing some affairs of business, to steal away from their society, and make a visit to the castle, as much for the purpose of enjoying from thence a more extensive view of the town, as of seeing the ruins of that edifice itself.

The castle is seated on the summit of a long narrow hill of rock, on the south-west of the town, near the Birket Ibrahim el Khaleel, and the Ain el Zilkah.* The ascent to it, on the north east, is by a very steep and winding path, scarped in some places into steps, in the side of the rock. The entrance is by an arched gateway, and a paved passage; but the whole of the interior presents only a scene of confused ruins.

The enclosed part of this hill is nearly a

* This is most probably the Scirtos of the ancients, though it hardly corresponds to the description of this stream, by D'Anville. In speaking of the sieges which Edessa had sustained, he says, "Elle est exposée à un autre fleau que ceux de fer et de feu, qui est d'être submergée par un petit fleuve, qui, ayant reçu des écoulemens de vingt-cinq torrens, comme le rapporte M. Assemani, se répand dans cette ville. Il est appellé Daisān, en usant d'une terme de la langue Syriaque, qui répond au terme Grec, Skirtos; en Latin, Saltator, ou Sauteur."—*D'Anville sur l'Euph. et le Tigre*, p. 11.

quarter of a mile long, though not more than one hundred yards broad. It is defended on the south and west by a ditch, in many parts full fifty feet deep, and about twenty wide, hewn down out of the solid rock, and presenting a work of great labour. On the other quarters, it is secure by the steepness of its ascent. The wall, which rises in some places from the side of the rock below, so as to form a casing to it, has every appearance of being Saracenic, from the style of its masonry and square towers. The rustic work is seen in some parts of it, but of that inferior kind which might have been executed in any age, except the present very degenerate one as to architecture, among the Turks.

The interior, which is now occupied by a few poor families only, presents a scene of the most complete desolation. There are two fine Corinthian columns with their capitals still erect, and these are seen at a great distance from every point of view. The people here called them the pillars of the gate of Nimrod's Palace, for which one may easily forgive them.*

* Pococke says, there is a tradition, that the throne of Nimrod stood on these pillars. It is certain, however, that Tamerlane erected some trophies on them.—*Descr. of the East*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 160, folio.

They are evidently, however, the portion of some considerable Roman edifice, but whether of a temple, or of some other building, there are not now sufficient remains left to decide. These columns are without pedestals, are executed in good taste, and of a proportion in height that pleases the eye, though they are upwards of six feet in diameter. A defect in their construction is, that their shafts are composed of many pieces, each perhaps thirty in number, like so many millstones heaped one on another; and from each of these, are left little projecting knobs of the stone, as in the Ionic circus and the Corinthian colonnade at Jerash. The proportions, however, being chaste, the size large, the shafts standing without pedestals, and the capitals of good workmanship, there are, upon the whole, stronger marks of pure taste, than there are peculiarities of a defective nature to be seen in them. They stand from twenty to thirty feet distant from each other, and had probably a column or columns between them, belonging to a portico of which they formed a part. Behind them, some of the masonry of the lower part of the edifice to which they belonged is seen; this is smooth and good, and is of the kind

generally used in temples, rather than that found in buildings of state or palaces.

Not far from this, I noticed a portion of a ruined building, with many small square and large circular windows in its walls, which, in the general style of its construction, resembled many of the ruined Christian churches in the Haurān, and was very probably itself an edifice of that kind, but of a still later age.

All the rest of the ruins are Mohammedan, the most perfect among them being a mosque, with its oratory, and niche of prayer in the southern wall, and its windows looking out on the deep excavated ditch which surrounds the castle.

On the north-east, this fortress completely commanded the town, and before the use of artillery was known, might be considered to be impregnable. At present, however, even if in its original state of repair, it would be of no defensive strength, as it is itself commanded by a higher hill on the south and south-west.

In the cliffs and sloping sides of this hill are either the ancient burying-places of the people of "Ur of the Chaldees," from among whom Abraham was called, or the Necropolis of the Romans, when this was one of the

settlements of their widely extended Empire, Those having their fronts in the perpendicular cliff, are mostly entered by oblong square door-ways, as the sepulchres of Thebes, at Gournou on the Nile; but some few of them are arched, and one particularly has a large central arch, with two smaller side ones, like the usual form of Roman gateways. Those in the side of the hill below are descended to by sloping passages, like the tombs at Oom Kais or Gamala, in the Decapolis; and others at Tartoose and Latikeea, on the Syrian coast. The whole of these grottoes may amount to two hundred in number, besides those noted to the west of the town, on the morning of our entering it.

The existence of the Roman ruins within, and of the tombs without, furnish great reasons to believe that the site of the castle itself was of Roman choice, unless it be carried back to the Chaldean age. The ditch, to the south of it, hollowed down to the depth of fifty feet out of the solid rock, is a work worthy of either, and one which, however ancient, would be likely to undergo very little alteration on a change of masters. With the castle itself, it would not be so. The original rock on which

it was first founded still remains; but, except the columns and masonry within its enclosure, as already described—and, perhaps, some few fragments of work near the bottom of the wall, which may be Roman—the whole of the present structure is decidedly Mohammedan. Here, as in many other instances, the original work seems to have been almost entirely destroyed before the place was completely conquered; but the same advantageous site was again built on, to secure the position thus gained.

The view of the city from the walls of the castle, spread out, as it were, at the observer's feet, is extensively commanding, and exceedingly beautiful. The minarets of the mosques, the tall cypresses, the domes, the courts of the khans, all have an air of grandeur from hence, which they do not possess on a nearer view; while the lake of Ain el Zilkah the fountain of Callirrhoe, and the canal of Abraham, seen amid the bowers that surround them, close to the foot of the rock, with the Corinthian columns and ruined walls and arches above, add, to the general beauty of the scene, a number of objects, all equally classic and picturesque. The town looks, from hence, to be

larger than Aleppo can be made to appear from any one point of view; and is, I should conceive, in truth, nearly two-thirds of its size. In general character, it bears a nearer resemblance to Damascus, as seen from the heights of Salheah, than to any other eastern town that I remember: like it, the site appears from hence to be nearly a level plain, with slight elevations and depressions, and, on the south-east, it has a long range of trees and gardens, extending for nearly two miles in length, with but little wood in any other direction.

To the south-south-east from the castle, is a road leading across a plain, uninterrupted but by a few mounds of earth, until it terminates in the barren desert, where the horizon is as level as that of the open sea. It is in this direction that Haran, the ancient residence of Abraham and Laban with their families, is pointed out, at a distance of only eight hours from this place, the Ur of the Chaldees, from whence the Patriarch is represented to have journeyed thither.* The site is still preserved by a town of the same name; but,

* The Theodosian Tables place Charræ at a distance of twenty-six miles from Edessa, which is just eight hours' journey on foot.

from its being in the possession of Arabs, similar to those of Palmyra, it is difficult to visit it except in the company of some people of the place. A ruined town and wall are spoken of, with the remains of an old castle; but these are said to be much smaller than those at Orfah, by those who have been there, nor are there columns or arches of any kind, according to the same report.

This Haran of the earlier Scriptures* is called Charran in the later ones,† and, afterwards, Charræ, Carræ, and Carras, by the Romans.‡ In the first, it is celebrated as the scene of the interesting histories of Isaac and Rebekah's interview at the well, and of Jacob's serving for Leah and Rachel; events, which are as characteristic of the manners of the Bedouin Arabs of the present day, as they were of the people of that early age. Among

* And they went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.—Genesis, c. xi. v. 31.

† The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charan.—Acts, vii. 2.

‡ Cellarius Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 14. Mesopotamia. Genesis, c. xxiv. and c. xxix. and Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 16—19.

the last, it is chiefly celebrated as the scene of the defeat and death of Marcus Licinius Crassus, who formed the first triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar. After crossing the Euphrates in his march against the Parthians, he was met in the plain of Carræ by the Parthian general Surena, by whom the Roman army was defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand killed, ten thousand taken prisoners, and the death of Crassus, their leader.*

This city must have been in a state of ruin at a very early period; for, when the Rabbi Benjamin travelled through Mesopotamia, it seemed to be quite desolate.† There did not then remain a single edifice standing in the place where Abraham, our father, (says the pious Jew,) had his dwelling. The Ismaelites, or Bedouins, however, came there often

* Plutarch's Lives, l. iii. c. 11. Lucan, l. i. v. 105. Pliny, l. v. c. 14.

† The following is a singular account given of the sort of masonry observed in constructing the buildings of Carrhæ, or Haran, which, if correct, might account for their early and total decay:—"At Carrhæ, a city of Arabia, all the walls thereof, as also the houses of the inhabitants, are reared and built of salt stones, and the same are laid of mason's work, and the joints closed and soldered by no other mortar than plain water."—*Pliny Nat. Hist.* b. xxxi. c. 7.

to pray, as they do now to shelter their flocks.*

On descending from the castle, and passing by the lake of Ain el Zilkah, I was shewn a small white worm, about six inches in length, and the size of whipcord in girth, which is used here successfully as a leech, and found in great numbers in these waters. It attached itself by one end only to any substance on which it was placed; but when in motion, no difference could be perceived between that particular end and the other.

Our afternoon was passed at another Mohammedan house, in a large party, until sunset, as it is the fashion among the higher ranks here to sup early, soon after El Assr, or about four o'clock, in order to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, who cannot enjoy that meal until *after* Muggrib, or dark, when their labours of the day are over; so different are their notions of fashion, as to hours, from those which prevail in Europe.

It was cool and agreeable when we reached the outer khan, where we had hitherto slept; and after prayers, in which all the Moslems

* Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele—Bergeron's Collection.

joined in couples, under the direction of an Imaum, or leader, our evening was closed with the same festive gaiety as that which marked the preceding ones of our stay here.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER DETENTION AT ORFAH: INTERIOR OF THE CITY, GARDENS, AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

JUNE 8th.—The business of the caravan being closed, and all the purchases and sales, which had occasioned our detention here, effected, we were preparing for our departure to-night, when information was brought us, by some people who had themselves been robbed on the road, that the Beni-Saood, or Wahābees, had made an incursion to the northward, and were now encamped, in considerable numbers, by the way.

These predatory Arabs were represented to be, in their persons, dress, manner of living, and religious tenets, every thing that was hideous, frightful, and savage; their extraordinary capacity of going, like their camels,

CHAPTER VI.

ORIENTAL CONVERSAZIONE AND GARDEN ENTERTAINMENT.

two or three days without food or drink, struck me, however, as the most surprising; but when I expressed my doubts on this head, it was confirmed by the united voices of all the assembly.* In war, they are said to mount two on a camel, and to use, alternately, muskets, swords, and spears; but the chiefs, the look-outs, and the couriers, are mounted singly, and perform journeys of a hundred

* The intelligent author of the "Description du Pachalik de Bagdad," which contains the most recent and authentic account of this powerful sect, uniting, in his time, nearly all the tribes of the Great Desert, in speaking of the Wahābees, says:—"Cette horde, qui dans ses commencemens n'étoit qu'un ramas de misérables familles, n'a cessé de prendre des accroissemens rapides, par l'adjonction successive de différentes tribus nomades disséminées dans les vastes déserts de l'Arabie; de manière que toute cette grande région, les domaines de l'Imam de Maseate, les côtes du Golfe Persique, et les îles de Bahrein, sont aujourd'hui soumises à sa domination. Il ne lui manque plus que de pousser ses excursions en Mésopotamie, pour répandre l'epouvante jusqu'aux portes de Constantinople. Le chef de cette nouvelle puissance jouit d'une autorité sans bornes: ses sujets lui vouent une obéissance aveugle, et un mot de sa part suffit pour faire marcher dans le besoin des milliers de combattans, habitués à verser le sang, avides de depouilles, qui comptent pour rien les dangers et la mort, et croyent mériter la palme du martyre en expirant les armes à la main pour la cause de leur doctrine." p. 40, 41.

miles without once alighting. A story is told of one of these couriers having gone from the neighbourhood of Aleppo all the way to Bagdad, in five days, upon the same animal, without once dismounting, but merely giving his beast a moment to snatch a few dry herbs by the way, and supporting himself by a little dough of flour and butter, with the small quantity of water contained in a lamb's skin, hung from the camel's side.

Many of the tribes of the Great Desert, who have embraced the religion of the Wahābees, are said to be strangers even to the use of bread. It is affirmed, that they subsist entirely on dried dates and the milk of their camels, with the flesh of such of these animals as die of sickness or old age. These, it is said, they often eat in a raw state; and it is agreed, on all hands, that they have neither sheep, goats, nor other cattle, except their camels: their deserts furnishing neither water nor other sustenance for them.*

* In a separate "Notice sur les Wahabis," attached to the Memoir of Mons. Rousseau, the following description of these singular people is a corroboration of the general accuracy of the representations here made:—"Au reste, d'une complexion saine et robuste, ils sont accoutumés dès

Notwithstanding the permanent state of want in which these people live, being destitute of what, by others, are considered the bare necessaries of life, they marry and multiply exceedingly; and their incursions upon the territories of others are chiefly in search of new pastures for their flocks, and food for their attendants. During the winter, they retire into the depths of their own deserts, where the few shrubs that exist are then

l'enfance aux travaux d'une vie toujours active; l'air pur qu'ils respirent, la chaleur du climat, la privation de toute espèce de superfluités sont en eux les principes d'une santé vigoureuse et à l'épreuve des fatigues: graves, phlegmatiques, fanatiques, et grossiers, leur orgueil est autant dans leurs procédés que dans leurs sentimens; inviolablement attachés aux usages de leur pays, ils condamnent et méprisent ceux des autres peuples, et rejettent dédaigneusement tout ce qui est au dessus de la sphère de leurs connoissances. La force de leur tempérament et leur sobriété singulière, se font remarquer surtout dans les expéditions qu'ils entreprennent; ils n'emportent alors avec eux que deux outres pleines, l'une d'eau, l'autre de farine, qu'ils chargent sur leurs dromadaires: quand ils sont pressés par la faim, ils délayent un peu de cette farine dans une écuellée d'eau et l'avalent sans aucune autre préparation; souvent aussi quand l'eau leur manque, ils se désaltèrent avec l'urine de leurs montures. Accoutumés comme ils le sont à toute espèce de privations, ils peuvent résister à la faim et à la soif pendant des jours entiers."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 149, 150.

found, and where water is occasionally to be met with. At the commencement of summer, when the violent heats burn up every blade of verdure, and exhaust the sources of their wells, they disperse themselves over the edge of the cultivated country, scouring the eastern borders of Syria, between Palmyra and Damascus, and the country east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. They come up here also, upon the southern edge of Mesopotamia, where they encamp in the spring, to the terror of all caravans passing this way, as, if their force be sufficiently strong, they never fail to plunder them.*

They do not, however, destroy the lives of their captives, except when resistance is made, or blood shed on their side, when they are desperate in their revenge. They suffer to pass free all commodities that are useless to them, such as paper, indigo, unworked metals, (ex-

* "Quant à leurs qualités militaires, on doit en prendre l'idée dans le fanatisme même qui les inspire. Ils affrontent avec un courage incroyable les dangers et la mort, et rien ne sauroit ralentir leur fougueuse intrépidité, parce qu'ils attaquent leurs ennemis dans l'espoir de recevoir, en mourant les armes à la main, la palme du martyre."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 150.

cepting only gold or silver,) and all heavy wares not worth the labour of removal. It is related of one of these Wahābees, engaged in the plunder of a caravan, that on being asked what were the things contained in some small barrels, (which were full of cochineal,) he replied, they were the seeds of coffee, which is forbidden among the Wahābees, and therefore could not be retained. As the barrels, however, were useful to the captors, for water, or other common purposes, the valuable cochineal was scattered on the sands, and the empty casks carefully preserved.*

The Wahābees, however, from having had some communication with towns, know the value of gold and silver, pearls, and rich stuffs, which sometimes form the ladings of caravans; and these they plunder, to barter for other articles more suited to their own wants, which they effect by emissaries sent into the

* A similar anecdote is related by Captain Horsburgh, in his East India Directory; where, speaking of some part of the coast of Africa, near Madagascar, he says, the natives refused guineas, which were offered in payment for a supply of cattle; but brought down a quantity of fresh provisions, fowls, vegetables, &c. for an old gilt anchor button, because it had an eye, and could be applied to some useful purpose, which the others, without it, could not.

large cities around them, where they are unknown and unsuspected.

Such were the accounts given us of the men, through whose very tents it was said we had now to pass, or wait until they had changed the place of their encampment; men who multiplied their species beyond all credibility, if one could listen to report, and this too amidst privations of every kind; while, throughout the rest of Turkey, where the means of life are cheap and abundant, the number of the human race is thought generally to be on the decline.

In consequence of the information we had thus received, a council was held among the parties interested in the safety of the caravan, to consult on the measures necessary to be taken for its security. Like a number of sea-captains, all bound to the same port, assembling to petition the Admiralty for a convoy, when their track is infested by privateers, so these camel-drivers and land-traders thought it best to apply to the government of Orfah for an escort as far as Mardin, offering a fixed sum of money for the force required. The government, however, had the honesty to confess, that no force which it could send

would be at all equal to the protection of the caravan, the number of the Arabs being estimated at a hundred thousand at least; and they therefore advised our waiting until they should disappear, or take another road.

On a second consultation, it was determined to despatch a messenger to Sheikh Abu Aioobe Ibin Temar, Pasha of the tribe of Beni-Melān. The station of this chief was in the open plains, called, in Arabic, "Berrecah," and distant about two days' journey, or from forty to fifty miles. This chief, from having under his command about twenty thousand horse, received regular tribute from all the caravans which passed near his domains, and was, in every sense, a very powerful man. When, therefore, a letter was addressed, imploring, in the most humble terms, his august protection through the camp of the robbers, his own justice and magnanimity were extolled, while the marauding character of the intruders on his dominion was painted in the darkest colours,—and yet the only real difference between them seemed to be, that the one was a stationary robber, and the others roving ones; for in this very application, for his protection against the stronger enemy, it was carefully

added, that an adequate compensation would be given to his followers for their convoy.*

When this important business of the day was closed, and the messenger despatched, we

* The difficulty of successfully resisting or subduing these Desert hordes, and the advantages they would possess as invaders of cultivated territories, if they possessed but tactics and discipline, is thus powerfully shewn.—" Il ne manque aux Wahabis pour être un peuple invincible et capable de soumettre toute l'Asie à ses lois, que de joindre à leurs qualités physiques et morales, les connoissances de la tactique et de la discipline militaire, dont ils sont dépourvus jusqu'à ce jour. En les acquérant, ils seroient en état d'attaquer constamment et avec succès les nations étrangères, et jamais celles-ci n'oseroient aller les chercher au centre de leurs possessions; car, pour pénétrer jusqu'à eux, il faut traverser des plaines arides et sauvages, des montagnes hideuses et des vallées brûlées par l'ardeur du soleil, où l'on est exposé à périr par la faim, la soif, et les chaleurs ardentes du climat: leurs déserts, leurs sables, et leurs rochers, sont comme autant de barrières, dont la nature semble avoir voulu les entourer, pour assurer leur liberté. J'observerai en outre que leurs habitations n'étant pour la plupart que de méchantes huttes ou de misérables tentes, ils les abandonnent sans regret aux ennemis qui leur sont supérieurs, pour se réfugier dans des lieux escarpés et inaccessibles aux autres hommes, où leur frugalité naturelle, jointe à l'habitude qu'ils ont de s'accommoder aux circonstances les plus critiques, leur fournissent des moyens de subsistance qui seroient insuffisans aux autres peuples."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 150, 151.

supped together in the open court of the public khan, to the number of seventy or eighty persons, all at the expense of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān; and the poor, who came afterwards to gather up the fragments that nothing might be lost, amounted certainly to as many more. Among the dishes were two lambs and two kids, each stuffed with rice, herbs, and spices, and stewed whole,—besides ten or twelve large dishes, containing three or four hundred weight of rice,—with many smaller and more choice messes of different kinds. This public exercise of hospitality on the part of the merchant having the largest property in the caravan, was intended and received as a pledge of his protection to those who might accompany it; and it had, unquestionably, the effect of uniting all the members of it to his interests more closely than before.

June 9.—After a morning passed in gleaning such further news of the road as we could collect, and listening to the exaggerated tales of Wahābee prowess, we dined before noon, at the house of a wealthy shereef; slept, for an hour, in his garden, beneath the shade of

fig-trees, willows, and oleanders, and passed the remainder of the afternoon at the Birket Ibrahim el Khaleel.

The room at the eastern end of this lake being now open, we entered it, and found there a most agreeable retreat. In the centre beneath a dome, was a square cistern, railed around, on a level with the pavement, and the body of the cistern descending below this about five feet. It was filled by the clearest water, the spring which supplied the lake being made to pass immediately through this cistern, and it was even more thickly crowded with fish than the canal without. On each side of the central pavement, which enclosed the cistern, was a raised divan, with carpets and cushions, for the accommodation of visitors. One of these divans looked out into a garden on the west, and had a sort of gallery above it, like the orchestra of an English ball-room; the other overhung the water, and commanded the whole range of the lake, as far as the mosque of Abraham, to the east. The door of entrance was from an arched and paved way, on the south; and attached to the building, on the north, was a kitchen, with a

chimney, cupboards, and other conveniences; and from thence a passage led out into the garden, on the north-west of the whole.

Within the principal room, below the dome, were some inscriptions in relief, by which it appeared, according to the reading of some of our party, that this building had been erected about two hundred and twenty years ago, by a kadi, attached to the mosque of the Patriarch, near it. Around the walls, and on the doors of the recesses in them, were also many inscriptions, both in Turkish and Arabic, some of them written with peculiar care, and bearing evidence of the esteem in which this place had been held. In this, as is the case in most other Turkish works, the choice of situation was admirable, and the intention of the plan and arrangement happy, but the execution was as wretched as the disorder and neglect that reigned throughout it.

We went from hence into the grounds adjoining this building, on the north-east, where, in a sunny walk, some workmen were bleaching cotton threads. In other parts of the garden were groupes of females reposing on their carpets, beneath the shade of wide-

spreading tree, and surrounded by their slaves and servants. Among the trees, the cypress, willow, oleander, fig, and pomegranate, were all seen; but the most abundant was the mulberry, which is here equal in size to the lofty sycamores of Egypt, near the banks of the Nile, or to any of our park or forest elms in England By the payment of a few paras, permission is obtained to range these grounds, and pluck the fruit, in any quantity; and liberty to walk in them is freely granted to all.

Near the western end of the avenue, is a portion of the old city wall, the masonry of which is equal to Roman, but a pointed arch seen in it indicates a more recent date. All the rest of the wall is undoubtedly Mohammedan, with square towers, thickly placed, small loop-holes, and remains of battlements, in the most decided Saracenic style.

On the north-east of the town, in our road to the Khan Khoolāh Oghlee, by the two principal entrances, Bab el Ameer, the gate of the prince, and Bab el Seraia, the gate of the palace, a deep ravine is crossed, by high but short bridges. This ravine seems

to have been intended as a ditch to the outer fortifications of the city wall, but in other quarters of its circuit no such work is seen.

On our return from the Lake of Abraham, we halted, during a shower of rain, in the court of the mosque, called Jāmah el Wizeer, or the mosque of the vizier. It has a front of about a hundred and fifty feet, with a piazza running along it. Before the whole, glides a branch of the waters of the lake, which are distributed through every part of the town, and which are here, as elsewhere, as clear as crystal, and crowded with carp. On the other side of it are seen the shafts of eight or ten small white marble columns, arranged at regular distances, and all erect. They are without capitals, but are no doubt the remains of Roman labours, now applied to decorate the court. These, and a few slabs of a stone resembling porphyry, but of a less deep brown than the antique—which I saw in the bench of an ice-shop in the town—are all the fragments of fine stone that I had yet met with. That used in the mosques, and other large buildings of the city, is chiefly a pale yellow lime-stone. Some of the caravanserais are built with alternate layers of this and of the

black basalt of the Haurān, found also in the plains; but no granite had been any where used. As the most precious of the fragments of ancient ruins are, however, generally converted to the internal embellishments of the mosques, it is probable, that among the fifteen large buildings here, many architectural remains of Roman days may be preserved.

In the court of this mosque of the vizier, a venerable sheikh was teaching certain children of the town to read the Koran, and the most proficient among these were again teaching others beneath them, according to the Lancasterian mode, now so common in Europe. It is only to be regretted, that their labours are not followed up by the introduction among them of other useful books, containing the elements of general knowledge, as most Turkish children are taught to read and write, and if their curiosity were excited at an early age, they have all of them the brilliant capacity, which their climate favours, to learn whatever might be laid before them.

One cannot, indeed, but be struck with the remarkable intelligence of the youths of this country, whose understandings seem to be

matured before the age at which it first unfolds itself in more northern regions. Their acuteness of perception is often followed up by a corresponding power of reasoning, which very soon fits them for the society of their elders, so that, notwithstanding they are kept at a very humble distance by their own immediate parents, they are admitted to a great equality with grown-up strangers. When men salute them, a proper answer is always sure to be returned; and if they in their turn address a stranger, it would be considered an unpardonable rudeness for the stranger not to return them some complimentary expression. It is thus, that they become early habituated to social intercourse, and I scarcely remember an instance, of what we call "mauvaise honte" among them, though this is so common among the children of our own country.

In the caravan, we had a little slave-boy, named Ferādj, born of Abyssinian parents in the service of the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, who, though only eight years old, had accompanied his master to Mecca, and was now as useful in superintending the loading and discharge of the Hadjee's personal baggage, and in waiting on him at table, as any servant of the

suite. We had another, named Zechariah, not yet ten years of age, who had accompanied his father across the Desert from Bagdad to Aleppo, and, after a stay of some months there, was going back with us by way of Mousul. The intelligence with which these boys would make purchases, execute errands, or answer inquiries, was really admirable, and excited constant regret, that such fine capacities should remain uncultivated.

Whether it be that the premature developement of their powers naturally leads to as early a decline, or whether, from the want of that exercise which the vivacity of youth demands, the understandings of their age are not proportionably good, I know not. But, though in infancy, they are naturally superior to Europeans, yet, the distance between their wisest men, and the merely well-informed gentlemen of England, is really immeasurable. In both cases, the influence of the respective religions may be thought to have some effect.

With the people of the East, religion acts as a detractive cause, and hinders the natural progress of their understanding, by corrupting it with errors in its course. In boyhood, they are sensible, acute, and rational. In man-

hood, they are weak, credulous, and prone to error. They see nothing in any books they read to induce them to believe, either that the power of God to work miracles, his inclination so to do, or the necessity of their existence to convince the unbelieving, has ceased; so that they continue to believe in the occurrence of events, as miraculous as those with which the pages of the books used by them in the studies of their infancy abound.

The Mohammedans, equally convinced, with their Jewish and Christian neighbours of the East, (for nearly all the Asiatics are alike immersed in superstition,) of the immediate superintendance of genii and guardian spirits, as well as of the influence of their prophets in heaven, say—"What! If angels could perform such wonders in the days of old, can they not now, in a similar way, protect the fish of the Lake of the Patriarch, from the operation of fire, and make them resist every process that may be tried upon them, to convert them into food?"

In Protestant countries, the devout are content to believe in the miracles of the past, and look on the age of working them as having closed with the closing page of Revelation.

As to the grounds on which they reject a belief in their existence since that period—whether it be from any failure of power or want of inclination in the Deity, or from the absence of a necessity for their occurrence since the commencement of the Christian era, all men are not agreed; but certain it is, that modern education teaches Europeans to measure the events and opinions of their own day, by a very different standard from that used in judging of the history of earlier times. And though, on events of a certain degree of antiquity, the indulgence of much freedom in inquiry is thought to be dangerous, yet on the affairs of our own times, and on matters more nearly affecting our business and bosoms at the present moment, it is courted and encouraged.

It is thus that, with us, religion does not, as in the East, obstruct the progress of our general knowledge, and the two pursuits are kept distinctly apart from each other. We have now, happily, neither persecutions for discovering the fountain of light to be the sun, nor for thinking that sun to be stationary, instead of revolving round the earth, nor for believing the earth to be a globe, instead of a level plain. As long as this liberality

continues, science and knowledge will progressively advance among us; while in the East, unless the same distinctions be made, ignorance is still likely to prevail, and the effect continue to be a retrogradation in knowledge, as it has been in the eastern world for many centuries past.

On returning from the mosque of the vizier, where this train of reflections had been excited, and in a corner of the court of which they were actually committed to paper, we repaired to the house of a venerable old moollah, who was blind from mere age, and joined there a party of about fifty persons at supper. The dishes were prepared and served in the Turkish rather than the Arabian style. The party were distributed around four large salvers, or metal tables, on the ground, with thin tough cakes of bread, like white-brown packing paper, placed in folds around the edges of them. One dish was then placed in the centre, and, after time being allowed to take just two hasty mouthfuls of it, this was removed, and replaced by new ones. These were again followed up in quick succession, by various others, to the number of at least sixty, and all of different kinds. Among these

the first was a strange mixture of sour milk and herbs, with melted butter and honey. Soon afterwards, a lamb stuffed with rice, and stewed whole, was savagely torn in pieces by the large and butcher-like hands of one of the servants in waiting. Others then liberally kneaded the fat of it with their hands, and seemed to have as high a gratification in mangling the flesh as they had in eating it. We had then a dish of pistachio nuts and raisins, stewed together, with preparations of apricots, and many other excellent things; but all were borne off with such dexterity, that one could barely taste of the greater portions; though, from their numbers, it must have been a fastidious stomach indeed that could not have relished any.

Beards are so general at Orfah, that there were only two of our whole party who were shaved, and these were both young men. Turkish was the only language spoken; and except the Hindoo Dervish, our camel-driver Mohammed, and myself, the features of all the company were more or less Turkish also. The distinguishing marks of these are a full round face, a wide mouth, a straight nose, thick eyebrows, a full beard curling down the sides in

long locks, and a remarkably thick neck, which is often deeply furrowed behind, in cross lines, like that of a young bull.

The sons and relatives of the master of the house stood to wait on us during the meal, and when we had finished, they sat down with their blind parent to the fragments of the feast; after which, there was still enough left to feed a host of poor dependants, waiting for their portion in the court below.

June 10th.—Our morning was loitered away in rambling over the town, in which, among other new objects that arose to excite inquiry, I remarked, that the fronts of all the best houses in the principal streets were covered with the marks of musket-balls, some of which even still remained imbedded in the plaster. These, I learnt, were the effects of a very recent civil war among the Janissaries and Shereefs of the town, in a dispute on the pre-eminence of their respective classes.

These Janissaries were originally the regular troops of the Turkish empire. When peace rendered their services no longer necessary, they were not disbanded, though suffered to depart to their own homes, and to distribute

themselves in the towns to which they properly belonged. They were still considered as the sultan's troops, and were granted certain privileges and exemptions on that account, on condition that they should hold themselves always in readiness to be called out in time of war; but, as they were suffered to follow their own occcupations as artisans and traders, they received no pay during their absence from actual service.

Such a state of repose, long continued, would, necessarily, lead to a decline of military discipline, to a diminution of their numbers, and to the growth of insubordination among them. All these were soon produced, and the first and last seem irremediable. Their numbers, however, have been kept up by the successive entry of new members into the respective corps or regiments, and these pay to its chief a certain sum for that benefit, which entitles them to privileges of exemption from some burdens, independent of those military honours which their fellow-citizens do not enjoy. As the Janissaries of the remote parts of the empire towards the south are but rarely called upon to go to war, and when they are, assume to themselves the option of

attending to that call or not, it happens that there are among them great numbers who have never been without the walls of their native town, and who know nothing of war, but what civil discord may have taught them.

At Aleppo, the disputes for pre-eminence have been chiefly between these Janissaries and the Shereefs, or nobles claiming to be the descendants of the Prophet. Here, however, though the Shereefs are also numerous, the most violent struggles have been between the different corps of the Janissaries themselves. These, it would seem, were not contests for the government of the town, since they have generally been content to leave this in the hand of the Motesēllem, appointed by the Pasha of Diarbekr; but they have obstinately contended for the idle honour of precedence in matters of ceremony, and for the mere boast of being the first in distinction by name only, without caring whether that distinction was deserved by honourable deeds or not.

At noon, when the Hadjee and his friends went into the mosque of Abraham to prayer, I was suffered to accompany them into the inner court, which presented an appearance of as great regularity as the exterior of the edifice.

In the wing buildings, we saw several venerable muftis, or doctors of the church and the law, each occupying a small carpeted apartment looking over the waters of the lake, and all of them occupied in reading.

Fronting the inner façade of the mosque, was a large square court, formed by uniform ranges of buildings on three of its sides, and closed on the fourth by the mosque itself. These buildings were apparently colleges attached to the mosque; for, in the chambers of them, were male youths of different ages, from ten to twenty, all occupied in studying under masters, and divided by their ages into classes. Their studies here are purely theological, being confined to reading the Koran, learning the prayers, precepts, doctrines, and traditional history of their prophet, and his faith.

Around three sides of this court runs a piazza, which is broad, lofty, and well paved. The columns of its arcade are of white marble with yellowish veins, like those at the mosque of the vizier, and were each probably taken from the ruins of some more ancient edifice. The arches between these columns, the springs of which they support, are of a very singular

kind, being broad and flat at the spring, like the Norman and Saxon arch, and then drooping into a fanciful figure in the middle, so as to present an appearance of being crushed down by the superincumbent weight.

The door of the mosque, which opens to the north, is of a fine hard wood, panelled, and very richly carved. Over it are a number of inscriptions, in white letters of relief, on an azure ground, the characters slanting, in the Turkish and Persian form, rather than in the Arabic, which are generally erect. The interior of the mosque presents only an oratory, ascended to by steps; the niche of prayer in the southern wall, some large ostrich eggs and lamps suspended from the roof, and the rich Persian carpets, with which all its pavement is covered.

The open square of the court is filled with trees, among which are several towering cypresses, from amid the dark spires of which the whitened domes and tall minarets rise with the finest effect. The other trees are so thickly planted as to yield a constant and welcome shade, and the whole is one of the most agreeable spots that can well be conceived.

We went from hence along the southern side of the lake, where we now observed, through a grated window, the tomb of a saint, it being opened on this day, peculiarly devoted to his memory, for the prayers of the devout. Our party went into this, and repeated their orisons, the tomb itself being included in a mosque. The minaret of this was a square tower, in which were four open windows at the top, having a Corinthian pilaster on each side, and a pillar in the centre, supporting the springs of a double arch. The pilasters and columns were all on high pedestals, and the capital badly executed, while the arches were of the horse-shoe form, so that this had been probably a Christian church of the Lower Empire, and not originally a Mohammedan or a Turkish building.

The noonday sleep of the Hadjee and his followers was enjoyed on the sofa of the room that overhangs the Lake of Abraham, at its eastern end; and after this, on our way back to the town, we halted to take a pipe and nargeel at a public coffee-house. The great bench in front of the house, on which the principal guests generally sat, was a seat of raised masonry, smoothly plastered, railed

around with open wood-work at the back and sides, and spread over with clean straw mats. It overhung a clear stream, running from the Birket el Ibrahim, crowded with playful fish, and was capable of accommodating fifty persons, who might sit here at their ease, to watch the current of the brook. On the opposite side was a garden, so thickly planted with trees, that the lofty and ruined walls of the castle could be but here and there perceived through their openings, though appearing, from its elevated site, to be almost right above our heads. A beautiful weeping willow, the trunk of which reared itself from the banks of the stream, within a few feet of where we sat, spread its falling branches over the waters, and completely shaded us from the heat of the sun; while the scarlet blossom of the pomegranate, and the finest combinations of summer-green in the various trees that vied in richness and beauty with each other, delighted the eye, and helped to complete the charm of this lovely spot.

Every thing that I had yet seen, indeed, about the town and its environs, convinced me that the Turks were genuine lovers of nature; and here they had been peculiarly

fortunate in the combination of her beauties for the common enjoyment of all.

Our supper-party was at a new house, and with some new persons, though the general circle of the Hadjee's friends were the same. Our treatment was as bountiful, and our evening passed as agreeably, as before.

June 11th.—We were still detained at Orfah, in expectation of the messenger's return from the "Berreah," with news of the road. Preparations were made, however, for our departure, by the purchase of such provisions as were deemed necessary for the way; but, besides this, our other occupations through the day were exactly similar to those of the preceding ones, and it was closed in the same manner, by a large supper-party in the town.

June 12th.—Our apprehensions for the safety of the man, despatched as an inquirer, were raised to the highest pitch, as the period for his expected return had already expired. In the evening, however, he appeared, bringing with him an account of the Annazies having made a movement farther east, between Mardin and Mousul, leaving the road

to the former place clear; but that this road was still infested by smaller parties of the Arabs of the country, from whom he had himself had several narrow escapes by flight and concealment. From the number who had halted here at Orfah, as the place of their original destination, and others who had gone off to Diarbekr, our caravan was reduced to about fifty camels, and less than that number of persons to accompany it. The hope of augmentation in force, or indeed of any other advantage to be gained by waiting, was however so slender, that it was determined to depart to-night, and run all risks.

In the morning, therefore, I prepared for my journey, by going to the bath. The one which I had at first visited on the day of our arrival, and which is situated in the public market, near the Goomrook Khan, not being clean or well attended, I had obtained directions to another, called the Chewchewch Hammām, in a situation of great retirement, near the goldsmiths' bazār, and in a small street turning up on the right of the direct road leading from the Khan Khoolāh Oghlee, to the Goomrook Khan, or from the Bab el Ameer to near the centre of the town. The

entrance to this was not prepossessing, although the dome of the outer room was one of the largest and finest that I had seen; but there was a bareness of furniture on the benches, and a general nakedness, which looked more like that of a deserted than a peopled place. The only persons seen, were the master of the bath, and one attendant. Nothing, however, could be more favourable to the enjoyment of all the requisite comforts of such an establishment, than this state of desertion really was. The interior of the bath was as thoroughly clean as could be desired; the rooms were variously heated, and the waters might be had of any temperature. A great degree of care and expense had been bestowed on the embellishment of the inner chambers, where, in the Mosaic work of the pavements, were seen black and white marble, and large slabs of the stone which I had before noted as resembling porphyry, except that its ground was of a lighter colour than the true antique. Mr. Maundrell speaks of a quarry of similar stone being still used near Aintab,* so that it cannot be far from

* Journey from Aleppo to the river Euphrates, p. 209, 8vo.

the foot of Mount Taurus; but whether this observed at Orfah was brought from thence, or found among more ancient ruins here, I could not learn.

As we continued to be perfectly uninterrupted by the visit of a single person, during the whole of my stay, I remained a full hour under the hands of the operator, had every joint cracked, every muscle moulded, and the hair entirely removed, excepting only from the eyebrows and beard, which were carefully trimmed and set in order by the same person, according to the fashion of the country.* An hour's repose upon a clean bed in the outer room, where coffee, nargeels, and iced sherbets of raisins were brought me, and afterwards a dinner of minced meat patties and salad, taken also in the bath before dressing, completed a course of considerable plea-

* It is one of the many remarkable contrasts between European and Asiatic usages, that, on the parts which Europeans most carefully shave, Asiatics suffer the hair to grow, and as carefully preserve it; while on those where the former suffer it to remain, the latter as studiously remove it—on all occasions of their visiting the bath. It has been thought that depilatory powders are sometimes used for this purpose, but I have never known any thing to supersede the common razor.

sure; the whole expense of which was only fifty paras, or scarcely an English shilling.

It is usual for males and females in Turkey to visit the same bath: the former class from morning until El Assr, or between three and four o'clock, and the latter from that time till sun-set. In Egypt, it is the practice to hang before the door of the bath a coloured cloth, during all the time that women are within it, for the sake of announcing to passers-by its being so occupied, and thus preventing any one from entering it inadvertently. In the bath which I first visited here, there were two doors of entrance, that for the men fronting the public market, and that for the women by a private passage from the street behind; so that while one was opened the other was closed, and effectually secured those within from intrusion. Here, however, at the Chewchewch Hammām, the women's bath was entirely distinct; having separate dressing rooms, fountains, cisterns, and chambers; in which the female attendants were now making preparations for the expected visitors of the afternoon. It has an entirely separate entrance, though being part of the same establishment it is heated by the same fires, and watered by

the same streams, and is superior in its decorations and arrangement to that of the men's bath, as the wife of the master, under whose direction the whole is kept, took more pains to embellish and keep in order the part devoted to visitors of her own sex, than he himself did for the department under his immediate care.

On reaching the Goomrook Khan, I found the whole of the Hadjee's friends assembled, with those also who were interested in the safety of the caravan, consulting on the probable danger of its being plundered. They all concluded, that it depended entirely on the destinies of Heaven, whether they should go safely or not; though it was easy to perceive that their confidence in God was more in word than deed: for it was only because there was no hope of our case being improved by waiting, that they now consented to set forward.

All, however, went together to the Mosque of the Vizier at noon, and, on coming out, we re-assembled in a thickly-wooded garden, close by, called Bistān el Hassan Pasha, from the name of its original planter. Here a sort of farewell dinner was given to us, by a cer-

tain Seid Hassan, a merchant of consideration, who had come with us from Aleppo to Orfah, where his family resided, and who was also going with us to Mardin, having a tent of his own, but supping always at the Hadjee's carpet. We were arranged in this garden, along the banks of a clear stream that flowed through it; and the dishes set before us on the grass were nearly as numerous as the persons who sat down to them, amounting at least to a hundred. We continued here until hour of prayer again returned at El Assr, when each one performed his devotions under the shade of some tree in the garden; and this gave an opportunity of dispersion without formal separations, which, in Turkish parties, are as much avoided as in the fashionable circles of Europe.

The rest of the afternoon was employed in collecting together our straggling numbers; when, at sun-set, we quitted Orfah, and repaired to the Khan Khoolah Oghlee, outside the town. Here the public prayers of Muggrib, or sun-set, were repeated by all the Moslems present, under the direction of an Imâm at their head; and we afterwards took a twilight supper in the centre of the khan in the open court. This was given by the Hadjee,

as a public pledge of his protection to all who partook of it; and, besides every individual about to depart with us in the caravan, there were fed at this meal at least fifty dervishes and fakīrs, coming and going from different quarters, and halting here on their way.

The number of these men throughout Turkey is more considerable than one could venture to assert, without being thought guilty of exaggeration. In every caravan they form almost the major part, and consist of men who, under pretence of either going to or returning from the pilgrimage, wander from place to place, and live entirely on the liberality of the pious. These are generally strong and healthy individuals, capable of earning their living by labour, were they acquainted with any branch of art or manufacture, and are distinct from the halt, the lame, and the blind, who are always objects of charity. The former, however, by carrying about them a Koran, some talismans, beads, and charms, make a more profitable business of it than those who have nothing to recommend them to the commiseration of their fellow-creatures, but their real sufferings and absolute incapacity of remedying them.

The number of unproductive beings thus preying upon the gains of the rest—who are themselves but barely a remove beyond them, from their extreme ignorance of the improved methods of labour, and their natural aversion to activity—occasions a great mass of poverty, which nothing but the wealth that nature has bestowed upon their climate and soil, the fruits of which may be said to grow up spontaneously to their hands, could at all support. The military, and the officers of the government, with a few of the merchants, more active than the rest, who extend their speculations, and move from place to place, are the only rich people in the country. These, however, invariably support a vast number of dependants, who are free from every concern but that of eating, drinking, praying, and sleeping; so that if the higher orders of society know nothing of those refined pleasures which afford so much delight to our circles, the lower orders, from their temperate habits, their familiarity with the rich, and their freedom from the common cares of life, are certainly more at ease than ours.

I am even inclined to believe, notwithstanding the positive evils of despotism, and the

undoubted disadvantages of ignorance and indolence, that the mass of happiness is, on the whole, as great here as in many of the monarchical countries of Europe. The pleasures of nature, in one of the most delicious climates in the world, are ever open to the people, and they are always disposed to enjoy them. Their diseases are neither so numerous, so lingering, nor so destructive of the faculties of enjoyment, as those which luxury has introduced among us. The plague may be considered an exception; but this, as it takes its victims speedily away from sufferings of every kind, may be deemed either a blessing or a curse, in proportion to the estimation of the state to which the death leads. And war, the great scourge of the West, does not here make whole towns of widows and fatherless children, nor fill crowded hospitals with the mangled carcases of wretched individuals, to whom the sword has but barely spared the power to drag out the remnant of a miserable and weary existence.

Our camels were laden, our horses already saddled, and we intended to have commenced our march immediately after supper; but the meal was scarcely finished, before there arrived

at the caravanserai a party of Yezeedis, from the eastward, who brought the most alarming accounts of the state of the roads, and occasioned such a general consternation, that, for the present at least, no one would set forward.

These Yezeedis, according to report, are a tribe of people living chiefly by themselves in the mountains of Sinjār, between Mardin and Mousul, having many very peculiar manners and customs, a distinct dialect, and a strange religion, in which they do homage to the Devil, as an ancient prince of Heaven, appointed by God to be the demon of evil, and, therefore, still the servant of the Most High, and, as such, deserving of honour and respect.*

* " Les *Yézidis*, qui peuplent la montagne de Singiar, sont une nation barbare, qui ne connoît ni lois, ni mœurs, ni jeûnes, ni fêtes, ni prières, et qui, sans aucun régime fixe de police, s'applique à la culture des terres, et du reste, ne vit que de rapines. La religion des Yézidis est une espèce de manichéïsme. Ils adorent un seul Dieu sous différens emblêmes, spécialement sous celui du soleil, et ont pour maxime de ne pas maudire le démon, parce que, disent-ils, il est la créature du Souverain Etre, et peut un jour rentrer en grace avec lui. Ils habitent indifféremment dans des villages et sous des huttes; mais en hiver, ou lorsqu'ils sont menacés de quelque péril, ils désertent ces demeures et se réfugient avec leurs troupeaux dans des cavernes obscures, ou entre des rochers escarpés, qui les

These Yezeedis are characterized by the Moslems around them as the greatest robbers upon the face of the earth, and men in whose words no faith can be placed; yet, when they reported their having been stripped and plundered by the Annazies, and nearly a third of their party, or about twenty persons, killed, in the act of making resistance, the hearers all praised their courage, and lavished every species of malediction on their enemies.

The number of the Desert Arabs was said by some of these to amount to sixty thousand tents; others said a hundred thousand camels, with two men mounted on each, besides mares and their riders; and others again contented themselves with saying that they were a sea, not to be numbered. All agreed, however, that the chief motive of their coming into this district was to procure food for their animals, as during the summer months all sustenance

mettent à couvert de toute insulte et de tout dommage. Leur nourriture ordinaire se borne au laitage, à la viande, au pain d'orge et à quelques fruits; ils obéissent à divers scheikhs, et ont l'abominable coutume d'aller vendre leurs enfans dans les villes. Du reste, ils ne sont pas circoncis, ils haïssent les Turcs, et paroissent avoir de l'inclination et de l'estime pour les Chrétiens."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 97, 98.

becomes dried up in the Southern Desert. Their only property is in camels and mares, of both of which they mount chiefly the females, and sell the males, to supply beasts of burden for caravans. Their camels, their mares, and themselves, are declared to be capable of living each three successive days without tasting food of any kind, and this not as an extraordinary effort, but a common necessity to which they are very frequently reduced. The milk of their camels forms almost the only food of all, since the mares never have any corn, and seldom any grass, and they themselves neither use bread, rice, nor other food of grain. When a camel is wounded, or likely to die from disease, he is then killed, and his flesh often eaten raw; this, with a few dates, forms the only luxury they are able to add to the milk on which they, their mares, and their camels' young, may all be said to subsist. The wool or hair of the camel (which is shed annually in the spring, leaving the animal bare in summer, until replaced by a new coat in autumn) supplies materials for the hair-cloth of their tents, and their own garments, both of which are spun and woven chiefly by their own women. Whatever other

supplies they may procure, in the way of arms, ammunition, or clothing, are obtained entirely by their plundering caravans, and bartering the spoil for such articles as they may more immediately need.*

In the expressions naturally drawn forth by such a recital as we had heard from the Yezeedis, of the depredations and cruelties of these Wahābee Arabs who now obstructed

* "Ce qui vient d'être rapporté des mœurs, du fanatisme, et de l'ambition des Wahabis, ne doit laisser aucun lieu de douter que ces sectaires, endurcis aux fatigues, et toujours prêts à se sacrifier pour la cause d'une religion qui leur commande de verser le sang des autres nations, ne soient continuellement tourmentés par la soif des conquêtes: tout porte à croire qu'avec le temps, et par le moyen d'une artillerie qu'ils ne tarderont pas à se former, ils parviendront enfin à ranger sous leur obéissance les deux grandes provinces ci-devant nommées (la Syrie et la Mesopotamie). Bagdad, Bassora, Moussol, Alep, et Damas, qui en sont les villes principales, quelque bien fortifiées qu'elles puissent être, ne sauroient tenir longtemps contre ce torrent dévastateur. Ce n'est pas que les Wahabis soient capables d'enlever ces places par les manœuvres d'un siège régulier et bien dirigé; mais, en se bornant à piller les villages des alentours, à ravager les campagnes, à détrousser les caravanes, à interrompre enfin toute communication de ces villes avec le dehors pour leur faire éprouver les horreurs d'un, famine complète, ils viendroient aisément à bout de les réduire."—*Notice sur les Wahabis*, p. 176, 177.

our way, all kinds of maledictions were mingled, and more particularly the common one of calling them "devils, and sons of devils;" to which some added, "and fit only to live with devils in the lowest depths of the bottomless pit." The Yezeedis, who honour Satan as a prince and servant of the Most High, executing only his sovereign will upon earth, are shocked beyond measure at any disrespectful mention of his name; and they themselves avoid even the use of certain words in Arabic which may have an affinity in sound to that of Sheitān, or Satan, that they may not take the name of this Lord in vain. They were angry beyond expression, therefore, at that which they now heard from almost every mouth of our assembly, and sullenly shunned all reply, or even communication: it was, indeed, thought, that had their numbers been equal to the task, they would have vented their anger in a more hostile and effective way.*

* "Les Yézidis ont pour premier principe de s'assurer l'amitié du Diable, et de mettre l'épée à la main pour sa défense. Aussi s'abstiennent-ils non-seulement de le nommer, mais même de se servir de quelque expression dont la consonnance approche de celle de son nom. Par exemple, un fleuve * se nomme dans le langage ordinaire *schatt*, et

From what I could observe of their physiognomy and general cast of appearance, they looked more like Indians, than either Arabs or Turks. Their figures were lean and lank;

comme ce mot a quelque léger rapport avec le mot *schëitan*, nom du Diable, les Yézidis appellent un fleuve *avé mazen*, c'est-à-dire, *grande eau*. De même encore les Turcs maudissent fréquemment le Diable, en se servant pour cela du mot *nal*, qui veut dire *malédiction;* les Yézidis évitent avec grand soin tous les mots qui ont quelque analogie avec celui-là. Ainsi au lieu du mot *nal*, qui signifie aussi *fer de cheval*, ils disent *sol*, c'est-à-dire, *semelle des souliers d'un cheval*, et ils substituent le mot *solker*, qui veut dire *savetier*, au terme du langage ordinaire *nalbenda*, qui signifie *maréchal*. Quiconque fréquente les lieux qu'ils habitent, doit être très-attentif à ne point prononcer les mots *diable* et *maudit*, et surtout ceux-ci, *maudit soit le diable;* autrement, il courroit grand risque d'être maltraité, ou même tué. Quand leurs affaires les attirent dans les villes Turques, on ne peut pas leur faire de plus grand affront que de maudire le diable devant eux, et si la personne qui a eu cette imprudence vient à être rencontrée en voyage par des Yézidis, et reconnue, elle est en grand danger d'éprouver leur vengeance. Il est arrivé plus d'une fois, que des hommes de cette secte, ayant été arrêtés pour quelque crime par la justice Turque, et condamnés à mort, ont mieux aimé subir leur condamnation, que d'user de la faculté qui leur étoit accordée, de s'y soustraire, en maudissant le Diable."—*Notice sur les Yézidis, par le Père Maurice Garzoni*, pp. 192—194.

* Voyez Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 492.

their features small, but sharp and expressive; their colour not a glowing sun-burnt brown, but a deadly or sickly olive of the deepest hue; and their hair long, black, silky, and glossy, with full mustachios and beards.*

It has often struck me as probable, that, if ever such a sovereign as Sesostris existed in Egypt, and made the conquests, attributed to him by history, in India, bringing back with him from thence, as related by the priests of the Nile to Herodotus, a large train of spoils and captives to grace his triumphs, the great diversity of people and religions existing in different parts of Asiatic Turkey might be descendants of such captive families scattered in the way; for the Druses, the Nesseeres, the Ismaylees, and many other classes of people in Syria, as well as these Yezeedis of Mesopotamia, have certainly, in their practices and opinions, a greater resemblance to many of the Hindoo castes, than to any other sect or race of people now existing in the West, or even to any of the ancient idolaters of

* "Il est défendu aux Yézidis d'ajuster leurs moustaches avec des ciseaux, ils doivent les laisser croître naturellement: aussi y en a-t il parmi eux dont on aperçoit à peine la bouche."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, p. 202.

which our Scriptures give us any detailed accounts.

We still remained with the caravan in the khan, but our offended informers would not even lodge within the same walls with us, taking away even the horses on which they were mounted, and reposing with their animals on the outside of the caravanserai.*

* The reader, who feels any curiosity to know the various opinions which the learned of different countries have entertained of this singular sect, may consult Hyde, *Historia Relig. Vet. Pers.*; the Memoir by Father Garzoni, translated by M. Silvester de Sacy, appended to Rousseau's Description du Pachalik de Bagdad; and the Travels of M. Febvier. The latter, now a very scarce book, contains a full account of this race as they then were: the writer observes, that the number of the sect amounted to about two hundred thousand, part of which was scattered over Persia, and the remainder over the Turkish frontier provinces. Their language was the Koordish. They were a hardy, indefatigable, abstemious people; fierce in their hostile encounters, but kind and hospitable when approached in their own tents. Their arms consisted of the bow and arrow, the Turkish sabre, and the sling, in the use of which they exhibited the most marvellous dexterity. His account agrees, indeed, with what later writers relate of them, except that he is more circumstantial and full. The following passages from the "Notice sur les Yézidis," already quoted, as being less generally known, may be here transcribed:—

"Le diable n'a point de nom dans le langage des Yézidis.

JUNE 14.—I was so completely tired of this detention from day to day, without hope of any speedy removal of the causes which occasioned it, that I had determined to form,

Ils se servent tout au plus pour le désigner de cette périphrase, *scheikh mazen*, le grand chef. Ils admettent tous les prophètes et tous les saints révérés par les Chrétiens, et dont les monastères situés dans leurs environs portent les noms. Ils croient que tous ces saints personnages, lorsqu'ils vivoient sur la terre, ont été distingués des autres hommes plus ou moins, selon que le diable a résidé plus ou moins en eux: c'est surtout, suivant eux, dans Moïse, Jésus-Christ, et Mahomet, qu'il s'est le plus manifesté. En un mot, ils pensent que c'est Dieu qui ordonne, mais qu'il confie au pouvoir du Diable l'éxécution de ses ordres.

" Le matin, à peine le soleil commence-t-il à paroître, qu'ils se jettent à genoux les pieds nus, et que, tournés vers cet astre, ils se mettent en adoration, le front contre terre. Pour faire cet acte de dévotion, ils se retirent à part, loin de la présence des hommes; ils font leur possible pour n'être point vus quand ils s'acquittent de ce devoir, dont ils se dispensent même suivant les circonstances.

" Ils n'ont ni jeûnes, ni prières, et disent, pour justifier l'omission de ces œuvres de religion, que le scheikh Yézid a satisfait pour tous ceux qui feront profession de sa doctrine jusqu'à la fin du monde, et qu'il en a reçu l'assurance positive dans ses révélations; c'est en conséquence de cela qu'il leur est défendu d'apprendre à lire et à écrire. Cependant tous les chefs des tribus et des gros villages soudoient un docteur mahométan pour lire et interpréter les lettres qui leur sont addressées par les seigneurs et les

if possible, a small party in town, to go to Diarbekr, where I might expect to meet with government Tartars going to Bagdad, whose

pachas Turcs, et pour y répondre. Relativement aux affaires qu'ils ont entre eux, ils ne se fient jamais à aucune personne d'une autre religion; ils envoient leurs ordres et font faire toutes leurs commissions de vive voix, par des hommes de leur secte.

" N'ayant ni prières, ni jeûnes, ni sacrifices, ils n'ont aussi aucune fête. Ils tiennent cependant, le 10 de la lune d'Août, une assemblée dans le voisinage du tombeau du scheikh Adi. Cette assemblée, à laquelle beaucoup de Yézidis se rendent de contrées éloignées, dure toute cette journée et la nuit suivante. Cinq ou six jours avant ou après celui où elle a lieu, les petites caravanes courent risque d'être attaquées dans les plaines de Moussol et du Kurdistan, par ces pélerins qui voyagent toujours plusieurs ensemble, et il est rare qu'une année se passe sans que ce pélerinage donne lieu à quelque fâcheux événement. On dit qu'un grand nombre de femmes des Yézidis, à l'exception cependant des filles qui ne sont point encore mariées, se rendent des villages voisins à cette réunion, et que cette nuit-là, aprés avoir bien bu et mangé, l'on éteint toutes les lumières, et l'on ne parle plus jusqu'aux approches de l'aurore, instant auquel tout le monde se retire. On peut se faire une idée de ce qui se passe dans ce silence et à la faveur des ténèbres."—pp. 194—197.

This is a part of their manners, which resembles that of the Nessāries and Ismaylies, in Syria, among whom a similar annual meeting, with promiscuous intercourse, even of the nearest relatives, takes place, under the sanction and name of a religious festival.

escort I might enjoy, as I had a letter from Mr. Barker, the consul at Aleppo, recommending me to the protection of any one I might meet with, carrying British or Indian despatches that way.

In going from the Khan into the town, instead of passing through the Bab el Ameer, as usual, I went along the outside of the eastern wall, in order to arrive at the gate of Diarbekr in that quarter. On the left of my walk, I had all the way a deep ditch, crossed in several parts by narrow bridges of two arches, with extensive burying-grounds, and beyond it a long village, or suburb, chiefly inhabited by peasants; while, on the right, was the continued line of the city wall, thickly filled, in its course, with square, octagonal, and circular towers.

In the construction of this wall, it appeared to me that three distinct periods could be traced, even before the more modern repairs of the present day. The first of these displayed the best masonry; the blocks being long, though not very thick, about six feet by two, but well hewn, and nicely joined without cement. These were near the foundations, and in some few places only were seen

higher up near the centre of the wall. The surface was in general much corroded by the operation of the air, and, on a closer examination, I was surprised to find them mostly blocks of coral and sea shells, such as are seen in the cliffs along the shores of the Red Sea, in a state of decay. In some of these, the substance seemed to be a mass of lime, in a state of decomposition, which broke easily, and crumbled, at the touch, into a white salt-like powder. In others, the large oyster, with the small queen or fan-shell, was repeatedly and distinctly seen, with still more numerous examples of those smaller ones like rams' horns, so frequent among the sands of every sea-beach. Other parts, the surfaces of which had become hardened by the operation of the air, looked like coarse limestone, crossed by harder and finer veins of pure marble. These were all in the original structure of the wall, though of what age it would be difficult to determine. The style of the masonry is rather Saracenic than Roman, though there is no apparent reason for its not being carried back to a much earlier date than either, and considering the foundations to be even of the Chaldean age. The nature of the

stone, however, is worthy of remark, in a situation so remote from any sea, and so elevated above the level of the ocean, beneath which alone it could have been formed. I had seen no such rocks in the way to Orfah, though no doubt the quarries from which these stones were taken are not far remote ; but in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, are several masses of hardened shells and coral, appearing above the surface of the ground. The rock of the castle is limestone ; and the soil, in which the ditch on the east of the city wall is excavated, is of light-brown earth, full of large and small pebbles of a rounded form, but not sufficiently hardened together to deserve the name of pudding-stone, which it otherwise resembles.

The second period of work in the construction of the wall is evidently Arabic, and of a very old date. Between the Bab el Ameer and the Bab el Seraia, or the gate of the prince, and the gate of the palace, are two very long inscriptions, each occupying the whole front of one of the square towers in the wall, and both consisting of several lines in depth. Neither Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, nor his nephew, whom I afterwards took to the place,

could understand them, though the letters of the inscriptions were all well preserved in a high relief, and of a large size, being long and slender. They were of opinion, that both of these were older than the time of Mohammed, from the form of the characters, and the obscurity of the language, which, they said, was decidedly a very old Arabic. The masonry coeval with these inscriptions, as seen in the towers, and in other parts of the wall, was evidently of a much later date than that of the foundation before noted; and the substance and form of the stones of which it was executed were also different. Instead of the corroded and fretted exterior of the former, the surfaces of these were firm, smooth, and of a fresh yellow colour, the material being a hard and close-grained marble. These stones were shorter, but at the same time wider in proportion, than the stones of the original work; and the manner in which they were joined together proved that the masonry was executed in a different age, and by a different race of people.

The third period was also of tolerably good masonry, and was as inferior to the second as this was to the first, in strength and

closeness of union, but was nearer to it in resemblance of general form. The principal mass of this is seen in the Bab el Seraia, which is wholly constructed of it. Over this, on each side of the gate, were sculptured lions, on pedestals projecting from the wall; one of them is now entirely destroyed, and the other has lost its head, but the body, which remains, is of good execution. Over this gate is a very long inscription, in modern Arabic, and well cut in letters of relief; but, as my companions merely ran it over hastily, I could only learn from them that it commemorated the repair of the city walls by a certain Motesēllem or governor of the town, in the year of the Hejira, 1071, or about a hundred and sixty years ago. The Bab el Diarbekr, in the east quarter of the town, seemed of the same age, and over it, in the place of the lions, were two projecting circles of stone, so common in all Mohammedan edifices of this nature, with sculptured devices of leaves upon them.

The masonry of the last period of repair which these walls had undergone, was of the most contemptible kind that could be conceived; and when contrasted with the three

preceding ones, or even with the last of them only, which was executed but a century and half since, presented a very striking picture of the rapid decline of architecture among the Turks.

In the street which led from this gate of Diarbekr, through the centre of the town, I noticed a Corinthian capital of white marble. It was small and of mean execution, but was evidently not a Mohammedan work. The black stone found here seems to have been much used formerly, as it still is, in the Haurān, and in Palestine, for mill-stones.* In the pavements of the streets a great number of these are seen, of a considerable size in diameter; and in general, the stone, from its superior hardness, has been rather used for pavements than for buildings. It is seen appropriated to the former purpose in many parts of the town; but it is found in a few of

* When the younger Cyrus was marching through this country towards Babylon, he found, at a place called *Pylæ* by Xenophon, a great number of people, who made a trade of fashioning mill-stones. "The inhabitants," says he, "were employed near the river, with digging mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned, and conveyed to Babylon for sale, to buy provisions for their support."—*Anabasis*, vol. i. p. 57.

the principal buildings only, and placed there chiefly for the sake of varying the alternate layers of black and white stones, according to the taste of the Turks.

All my efforts to make up a party for Diarbekr had been hitherto ineffectual, the same risk being thought to prevail on that road, as on the way to Mardin, from small bands of robbers, formed of the Arabs of the country, against which a caravan would be secure by its numbers, but by which a small party would be sure to be pillaged.* The caravan itself, in going that road, would probably lose no time, as the route was only three additional days from Diarbekr to Mardin, and the distances of these places were each five days from hence, whereas the prospect of our detention here had no apparent limit. We should also be sure of passing to the northward of the districts occupied by the Annazies, the danger of being plundered by whom had been yet the only obstacle to our departure. But another consideration of still higher importance in the estimation of all who had

* Rousseau says, in speaking of this road, "La route, (de Mardin) à Diarbekr, quoique très fréquentée, est effroyable et dangereuse."—p. 95.

property of any value to convey, was, that after paying the custom-dues of five piastres per camel-load here, they would be obliged to pay a charge of five per cent., ad valorem, on all their goods, if they went to Diarbekr; and this would be forced from them, whether they entered the city or not: since the custom-house there would send its agents out to meet them half way on the road, and make them thus pay dearly for the short deviation of their march from a route of danger into one of safety. Some few, indeed, who had nothing but their personal baggage to protect, were strenuous in their advice to take the road to Diarbekr at once, urging, very sensibly, that it was better to pay, as a certain loss, the charge of five per cent., than run a great risk of losing all. The merchants, however, would not admit this principle, and seemed to know nothing of the nature of insurance.

Some of the dervishes and fakīrs said, "Of what avails all this caution and prudence? Can the sons of Adam prolong their lives at their own pleasure? and are not all events written in the destinies of Heaven? There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God! Let us, therefore, trust in God, for

all things are with God; and as God is merciful, we shall pass, by the blessing of God, in safety and peace." Such was their lavish use of the name of the Deity—a name almost ceasing to be venerable in Turkish ears, by its constant application to the most trifling as well as important occasions. But, pious and orthodox as were these suggestions of the poor, the rich suffered their pecuniary interest, and their love of life, to prevail over their devotion, or their confidence in the protection of that Being whose name they had so often invoked, and determined not to move until more favourable intelligence should arrive.

At noon, it being the public day of prayer, all the mosques were crowded, particularly those of the Vizier, and of Ibrahim-el-Khaleel, which are the most generally frequented. In the inner porch of the latter, our noon-meal was taken, and no scruples were made by my host to my being one of the party, or to my receiving the salute due only to a Moslem from those who knew not of my being an European. In the pavement of this mosque I observed some slabs of the pale porphyry, noted before in the baths and shops of the town. In the outer court, also, I remarked

some arches, which I thought purely Gothic, the lower parts being formed of sections of a Roman arch, which were broken and raised upon by a smaller pointed one. It is more probable that these were Mohammedan than Christian arches; though, in the erection of this mosque, their forms are as likely to have been borrowed from the Crusaders of the West, as the Gothic is to have been merely a variation of the Saracenic arch. The dates of the respective buildings are the chief desiderata; for by these it might be easy to determine whether the Gothic architecture is a mere variation of the Arabic, and brought from the East, or whether, as contended by some, it had its origin purely in the West. For myself, I confess that all I have yet seen inclines me to the last opinion.

In the afternoon, there arrived an express messenger from Aleppo, bringing me a letter of the 11th inst. from Mr. Barker, in answer to one addressed by me to him on the 3d. and sent by a messenger of the country. The subject of the correspondence was this:—

Previous to my departure from Aleppo, in the company of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, it had been agreed on that his servants should

receive the sum of a hundred and fifty piastres on my account. This was to be divided equally between the chief camel-driver, the cook, and the groom, for the respective services which each might render me on the way. It was on the promise of these men being, for this consideration, perfectly at my command, that my own servant,—which had been kindly furnished me from the establishment of Lady Hester Stanhope, in Syria, as one of tried fidelity, on whom I might safely rely—had returned to his home, it being thought unnecessary to take him to the other end of Asia, on such a journey as this, while his home and his family were in Syria.

For the first day or two of our route, I had to attend entirely to my own wants, without any other exemption than that of not cooking; it being required of me to look after my own baggage, saddle my horse, rub him down, feed him, and secure him at night, as well as lead him to water in the day; and to do all the other little offices which I might otherwise need. I had been of late so accustomed to this, under a state of much greater privation, in my journeys east of the Jordan, and through the mountains and plains

of the Haurān, that I scarcely felt it to be inconvenient. Its being thrown on me at all, however, I attributed to the hurry and bustle of the caravan's departure, which accumulated a pressure of duties on every one's hands, so that no man could yet attend to the affairs of another. Considering myself as on board a ship just departing from her port—for these land-fleets and ships of the desert require quite as much time to put in regular order—I consoled myself by saying, We shall get all to rights when we are clear of the land, and well out to sea.

On our arrival at Beer, on the Euphrates, matters were, however, no better; and as the prying eyes and curious inquiries of many in the caravan had been attracted, by their seeing a person equally well dressed with the Hadjee and his nephew performing menial duties, which they themselves did not, and as I was often annoyed by the impertinence of those who took greater liberties with me on that account, I ventured to inquire whether the sum specified had not been given to the servants on my behalf, and whether I was not thereby entitled to their assistance on the journey. The owner of the camels admitted

that he had received fifty piastres, for which the small portion of baggage I carried—namely, a carpet, corn for my horse, and his chain-fastenings for the night—were placed on the lading of one of the camels, and he thought this to be all the service which I should require of them. The cook, who was an Abyssinian slave, had really enough to do in his own department and as he denied his having received any consideration on my behalf, nothing could be expected from him. The groom declared, also, that he had not been rewarded in any way, and that I had, therefore, no just ground of complaint against his inattentions.

I directed my inquiries still further, thinking that these men might have given me false answers, in order to exempt themselves from any claims from me, and, accordingly, I asked the young Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef, the nephew of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, if he knew any thing of the hundred and fifty piastres promised, and the mode of its appropriation. He declared that he was entirely ignorant of the affair, and said he believed his uncle to be so too: adding his conviction, that if the consul had promised me to pay that sum, and

I really intended it, it was no doubt done, though the servants might deny it. He still repeated that he knew nothing at all of the matter; and expressed himself almost angrily at my having so underrated their hospitality and respect for the English nation, as to think any reward, even to the servants, necessary for my participation of their common fare on the journey.

As I felt that if the affair were suffered to end thus, the veracity both of the consul and myself might be liable to suspicion, I had written to Mr. Barker a full detail of the case, requesting his explanation of it to be sent after me, that it might reach me before I quitted my companions at Mousul. This, then, was the purpose for which the messenger had been despatched, and the answer which he brought stated that the hundred and fifty piastres had been paid, by his own cashier, into the hands of the young Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef *himself*, and in the presence of his friend Hadjee Hāshim of Aleppo. Letters in Arabic, directed to the uncle and the nephew, accompanied this to me; and on reading them, the former was roused to a violent degree of anger, and the latter covered with confusion.

From all that I could learn, it really appeared that this young man, who had received the money, had concealed the fact from all the rest of the party; and after giving fifty piastres to the camel-driver, who alone had been previously told that he would have to receive that sum, he had appropriated the rest to himself. The uncle, who had every appearance of being sincere and honest, expressed his indignation in very warm terms, and made every suitable apology to me; the nephew, on the contrary, first strove to brave it out, by repeating that he knew nothing of the affair, until the camel-driver confessing that it was from the hands of Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef that he received his portion, further denial was vain.

This was the act of a young man of twenty-two, an age when the heart is generally most inclined to revolt at any thing that is base or mean, particularly where pecuniary gains are the only benefit to be received by it, and the son and nephew of wealthy merchants, so that he had the prospect of a good inheritance. It was a sad picture, therefore, of Eastern integrity, (it could neither be called Arabic nor Turkish, since the family was strictly

neither,) and as this young pilgrim was also just newly returning from the Hadj, it seemed to prove that there was reason in the proverb which is common among the Arabs of the Desert, with whom pilgrimages are not in great repute, and which says, "If thy neighbour has been once to Mecca, suspect him; if twice, carefully avoid him; but if three times, make haste to remove from near his habitation!"

CHAPTER VII.

FROM ORFAH TO THE ENCAMPMENT OF EL MAZAR.

It was past noon, when a party arriving from the eastward brought intelligence of the Annazie camp being removed farther south, and of the road for the moment being clear. It was, therefore, advised, that instant advantage should be taken of this favourable change, by setting out immediately on our journey, as these wanderers might soon again return. This being determined on, with a promptitude extremely rare among Orientals, all became a scene of bustle and preparation.

The caravan destined for Diarbekr, and which, like our own, had delayed its departure from day to day, from the supposed danger of the road, now united itself to ours,

CHAPTER VII.

PLUNDER OF THE CARAVAN BY A TURCOMAN HORDE.

in order to go with us part of the way at least, and thus increase our mutual safety. The number of animals assembled at evening in the khan was at least three hundred, chiefly horses, mules, and asses; camels being said to be unfit for the road to Diarbekr, because a branch of Mount Taurus crosses this route: the number of persons accompanying the caravan was at least equal to that of the animals.

Public prayers were performed at sun-set in the inner court; a bountiful supper was again distributed among the poor, and the strangers; and we continued up, surrounded by parties of great mirth and gaiety, to await the rising of the moon before we set out on our journey to Mardin.

June 15th.—It was past midnight when we left the khan, after which we passed southerly through the long range of suburbs without the wall and ditch of the city, and getting nearly opposite to the gate of Diarbekr,* in

* In eastern cities, gates are generally named from places *towards* which the road leading from them looks; and from which caravans for such places consequently depart.

the eastern quarter, quitted Orfah, and bent our course easterly across the plain.

It was within an hour after our setting out that we reached a small village, in which the dwellings were meanly built, though from amidst the centre of them arose the tall minaret of a mosque, seen from a long way off. The plain itself was covered with corn, some portions of which had already begun to be gathered in by the reapers, but the greater part was still standing. On our left, or to the north of us, at a distance of a mile, we had a range of bare hills, running nearly in the direction of our road, and on our right, the view lost itself in the distance, ending in the immeasurable and unbounded waste of the Southern Desert.

We continued our way on a course of east-south-east, seeing many ruined villages on the right and left, and several small camps of what are called Arab-el-Belled, or Arabs belonging to the country. These are distinguished from the Bedowee, or Bedouins, by their being, in general, stationary, or at least confined to a small space of wandering; following the occupation of cultivators as well as shepherds, and having fewer camels, and a

greater number of other flocks and cattle; but still more than all, by their being tributary to the nearest government, of which the great Desert Tribes are wholly independent.

At sun-rise, we crossed a stream flowing to the south-south-west, called the Water of Jelab, and said to lose itself in the southern sands.* We saw here a number of the crested hoopoes, a bird extremely abundant in Egypt. They are called in Arabic "Hedhed," with the appellation of Beni-Sulimān, or children of Solomon; from a prevalent opinion, that in the splendid age of this Jewish monarch, these birds were among the number brought to him, with the peacocks and monkeys, from Ophir, and other distant lands. It is currently believed by the people of the country, that its crest was then a crown of gold; but that the avidity of mankind for

* "Les environs de Roha ont quelques positions locales qu'il ne faut pas omettre. En s'eloignant de cette ville, vers Grec-levant, une plaine, que le nom d'Eden fait croire être agréable, est traversée d'une petite rivière qui prend le nom de Giallab, d'un château situé dans les montagnes qui côtoye la route; et le nom de cette place est *Calaba*, dans la Notice de l'Empire, et dans Procope de Edificiis."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre.*

this precious metal occasioning the birds to be often killed for their crowns, they assembled together, and represented their case to Solomon himself. This monarch, in his great wisdom, understood the languages of all animals, as well as of all people, on the face of the earth; and, hearing and pitying their case, he prayed to their Creator to ameliorate their destiny, when the crown of gold was instantly changed to a crest of feathers, of equal if not of still greater beauty.

The plain over which our road lay now became waste and dreary, being no longer cultivated, although it was still covered with a fine fertile earth, and bore a long wild grass, on which the animals of the caravan fed as they went along. The town of Orfah, as seen behind us, at the foot of the hills near which it stands, still preserved an interesting appearance. This range of hills runs nearly north and south, and ends in the last direction in the Desert. To the east of our path, at a short distance, was a similar range of hills, lying also north and south. The bare ridge on our left, lying east and west, completed three sides of a square, and the fourth side of the horizon on our right was open, presenting

an even line like the sea, terminating in the sandy waste of the Great Southern Desert.

In the western edge of this, we could distinguish as we passed the minaret or towers of Haran, bearing south-south-west, and distant from twelve to fifteen miles. From some of our party who had been there, I heard that, though all in ruins, it was a larger town than Orfah, and had, like it, enclosing walls and a castle; but I could hear of no remains of Roman architecture resembling those seen in the castle of Orfah.* There are at present no inhabitants of any kind at Haran, though the Arabs of the country come occasionally to lodge there during the rainy seasons, for the shelter of their flocks.

Our march was continued in a state of constant apprehension and frequent alarm, from the appearance of horsemen in small parties, until nearly noon, when we halted at a spot called Tal Kaloo, for the sake of watering at a well there. We had slightly ascended from

* Charran, which was at the same time called Carræ and Charræ by the Romans, and was remarkable for the defeat and death of Crassus, is placed by Golius Niger, and others, forty miles to the northward from hence, which is evidently erroneous.—See *Ives's Travels*, p. 354.

the level of Orfah, and had reached the foot of the eastern range of hills seen from thence, at a distance of about fifteen miles.

The heat of the day was excessive, and a dead calm prevailed at noon; the thermometer in the shade standing at 99°. A strong north-east wind however soon sprung up; and a storm of thunder, lightning, and large hail, beat down our tent, and obliged us to cover ourselves and horses with all the cloaks, bags, and carpets we could collect, to protect us from the heavy fall of the stones, many of which were an ounce in weight.

We were repaid for this inconvenience by the delightful serenity of the evening, and the pure freshness of the air. Ascending a round artificial eminence, near the place of our encampment, on which foundations of buildings were visible, the view from thence was exceedingly extensive. The people here have a particular and characteristic name for the Desert, and for all wide spaces of land, unpeopled by towns and villages, similar to that which we use for the wide expanse of ocean, when we call it "the open sea." Such portions of unpeopled country are called "Burreah," a name derived either from "Burra,"

meaning the land—as "Burra el Sham," the land of Sham; or Burra, meaning without, at a distance: thus they say, "Nuzzult al Burreah," or "We encamped *without*, in the *open land*," exactly as we should say, on ship-board, "We brought up, or lay-to, *without*, in the *open sea*." In these extensive plains, minute objects are seen at quite as great a distance as on the ocean, and the smallest eminences are discovered, (or "made," as the sea phrase is,) by degrees, just as islands and capes are at sea, first perceiving their tops, and then raising them gradually above the horizon, till their bases appear on the level of the observer. Many of these, like rocks and headlands to sailors, become, among the Desert Arabs, so many fixed marks of observation, and fresh points of departure. The bearings and distances of wells are noted and remembered from such objects; and they are seen by caravans, going slowly across the Great Desert, for many days in succession, as they approach to and recede from them. We observed from hence several of such eminences, all of which are said to have their peculiar name among the Arabs of these wastes, as well as among the leaders of caravans, so that they answer the

names and positions of capes to sailors, in the direction of single ships, or fleets at sea.

From several single passengers whom we met coming across these plains from the eastward, all of them poor men, venturing as messengers, or letter-carriers, having, in the execution of their errands, much to gain and nothing to lose, we had such unfavourable accounts of the direct road to Mardin, that it was determined in our next march to make a turn to the northward, and get into a by-path, little known or frequented, and lying in the hollows of the hills. Seid-Hassan, of Orfah, being still with us, on a journey, in charge of merchandize to Mardin, and being better acquainted with this neighbourhood of his nativity than any of the other leading men of our party, took upon himself, by general consent, the charge of caravan-bashi, or pilot; and it was under his orders that we were to halt, move forward, break up, or form our camp. Even in this forlorn spot, we met fakīrs and dervishes on their way towards Aleppo, for the next pilgrimage of Mecca; and by one of these, an Indian, who halted at our tent to refresh, I forwarded another letter to my friends in England. The camp was breaking

up whilst I wrote it, and we afterwards moved on for about an hour after sun-set, to change our halting place, as it was suspected that our position had been seen by horsemen wandering on the hills, and we were likely to deceive them by this measure. We lay down at night with our arms in our hands, and the bridles of our horses forming our only pillow, to be ready at the first alarm, in case of any sudden attack.*

* To shew the grounds which existed for this alarm, and to give the reader an idea of the terror which the attacks of the Wahābees had inspired throughout every part of the East, it may be well to give a few extracts of the Memoir written by the French Consul at Bagdad, and founded on the most accurate sources of information in the country itself, in letters written to him by correspondents residing at the time in Aleppo and Bagdad, in 1806 and 1807.

"*Extrait d'une lettre écrite d'Alep, en date du* 12 *Juin*, 1806.

"La caravane des *Hagis* ou Pélerins, a dû souffrir considérablement cette année du brigandage de ces sectaires fanatiques. Après avoir massacré une partie des dévots Musulmans qui la composoient, et soumis l'autre à des impositions excessives, ils ont brisé le sacré *Mahmel*, coffre d'un riche travail et couvert d'un drap vert brodé, qui renferme les pieuses offrandes que le Grand Seigneur envoie chaque année, pour être déposées sur le tombeau de Mahomet. Ce coffre est porté ordinairement par un chameau superbement caparaçonné, et qui marche toujours à la tête

JUNE 16th.—We commenced our march with the rising of the moon, and now bent our course to the northward, going through narrow and winding valleys, and constantly

du convoi, en mémoire de celui qui portoit le siége du prophète dans ses courses apostoliques et militaires. Un tel accident, fait pour jeter l'alarme parmi les Turcs, a plongé notre ville dans la dernière désolation; tout le monde le regarde comme le triste présage de la décadence du Mahométisme. Tandis qu'un corps de Wahabis s'étoit mis aux trousses de la caravane des pélerins, un autre plus nombreux, expédié de Dréhyèh même, se dirigeoit rapidement vers Zéber, Bassora, et Imam-Ali. Ces brigands se présentèrent en force, le 27 Avril, devant le dernier de ces lieux, et à la faveur de la nuit parvinrent à en escalader les murs; déja ils avoient planté leurs drapeaux au haut des remparts, et quelques-uns d'eux avoient même pénétré dans l'enceinte de la place, lorsqu'un de leurs chefs s'écria tout-à-coup, en s'adressant à ses camarades: 'Mes amis, voici le moment favorable pour signaler notre saint zèle: nous sommes les vengeurs du Très-Haut, faisons grâce à ceux qui suivent sa loi, mais punissons de mort ceux qui osent la violer.' Cette courte exhortation, prononcée d'un ton haut et délibéré, réveilla les sentinelles endormies, et sauva Imam-Ali. L'alarme fut générale; les habitans coururent aux armes, et jugeant qu'il valoit mieux se défendre avec courage que de se laisser lâchement égorger, ils firent une vigoureuse résistance et tuèrent tous les Wahabis qu'ils rencontrèrent: ceux-ci voyant leur projet manqué par une harangue tout-à-fait déplacée, n'eurent d'autre parti à prendre que de se retirer à quelque distance de la ville, où,

ascending. At sun-rise we were in a small confined place, where the bare hills on each side nearly approached each other. In those on our right were perpendicular cliffs, near

s'étant retranchés, ils la tinrent dans une espèce de blocus; mais un scheikh Arabe, nommé Hatab, fondit sur eux, suivi d'une poignée de gens, et les obligea, au bruit du canon de la place qui les étourdissoit par un feu continuel, à s'éloigner, après qu'il leur eut tué plus de six cents hommes. Les Wahabis, informés de la sortie du pacha, se replièrent sur Sémawat, ville des bords de l'Euphrate, et attaquèrent cette place selon leur coutume pendant la nuit; mais ils échouèrent encore dans cette tentative. Osman-aga, commandant du lieu, les repoussa vivement, et le lendemain un scheikh Arabe, suivi de trois cents *Kézaïls*, les chargea avec tant de vigueur, qu'ils perdirent dans cette dernière affaire, à ce que l'on assure, plus de cinq cents hommes."—pp. 170—176.

"*Extrait d'une seconde lettre d'Alep, en date du* 14 *Mars*, 1807.

"Je m'empresse de vous donner la nouvelle très-importante de la mésaventure arrivée aux pélerins, qui après être partis de Damas pour se rendre à la Mecque, ayant à leur tête selon l'usage l'*Emir-el-Hage*, Abd-allah-pacha, ont été arrêtés au milieu de leur route par les Wahabis, et exposés à de nouvelles vexations. Ces sectaires avoient dicté l'an passé au même pacha des conditions rigoureuses qui interdisoient au convoi qu'il conduisoit toute espèce de pompe extérieure; indignés de voir qu'il ne s'y étoit pas conformé, ils lui ont signifié l'ordre de suspendre sa marche et de s'en retourner avec toute la caravane, le menaçant d'un pillage

the summit of which were several caves, apparently artificial, though from the difficulty of access to them it was more easy to conceive

complet, s'il s'avisoit de faire la moindre résistance. Abd-allah-pacha a voulu entrer en composition, mais il n'a pas été écouté, et comme il hésitoit à se soumettre à l'ordre qui lui avoit été intimé, il s'est vu tout-à-coup enveloppé par les Wahabis, qui, après avoir pillé, maltraité, et même massacré grand nombre de pélerins, l'ont forcé enfin à rétrograder et à retourner à Damas, où il se trouve en ce moment, fort incertain du parti qu'il doit prendre."—p. 178.

"*Extrait d'une troisième lettre datée de Bagdad, le 8 Juillet*, 1807.

"Depuis les derniers détails que je vous ai transmis, sur la situation des affaires politiques de ce pays, il ne s'est passé ici rien d'intéressant et qui puisse mériter votre attention, si ce n'est l'avis qu'on a reçu de l'apparition subite d'un corps de Wahabis sur les bords de l'Euphrate. Leur dessein paroît être de couper le passage à la caravane qui se prépare à se mettre en route pour Alep; celle-ci vient en conséquence de recevoir ordre du Gouvernement de différer son départ, et le kiaya se dispose à se rendre avec trois ou quatre mille Arabes à Ana, ville située sur le même fleuve, à quelques lieues de Bagdad, afin d'en repousser les sectaires dans le cas où ils en approcheroient. Le pacha même doit, dit-on, quitter incessamment sa résidence, et aller occuper les avenues d'Imam-Ali, lieu que l'on croit menacé de rechef d'un pillage prochain. Un second corps de Wahabis, très-considérable, s'est porté plus haut vers *Deïr*, lieu situé également sur l'Euphrate, à cinq journées d'Alep. Des Arabes fugitifs, venus récemment de cet endroit, ont assuré que l'intention de ces brigands étoit d'y

that they were used as places of sepulture, than that they were ever the residences of men, or places of shelter for cattle.

On gaining the highest part of the stony land, up which we had been all the morning ascending, an extensive view of the country to the east and west presented itself. In both directions there were a number of successive levels, divided by such inconsiderable ridges,

construire un fort pour recevoir une garnison, et qu'ils avoient déja rassemblé tous les matériaux nécessaires pour cela. Ceci démontre assez le projet qu'ont les Wahabis d'entrer dans la Mesopotamie, où ils n'ont pu pénétrer jusqu'à ce jour; et une fois qu'ils y auront mis les pieds, toutes les forces réunies de la Porte ne pourroient peut-être plus venir à bout de les en chasser."—p. 179.

"*Extrait d'une quatrième lettre datée de Bagdad, le* 30 *Juillet*, 1807.

"Nous venons d'apprendre par des avis certains la triste nouvelle du saccagement d'*Ana*, éxecuté par un corps combiné de Wahabis et d'Al-Ubeids, à la tête duquel se trouvoit Létouf-beg, fils du fameux Schawi-zadèh, qu'Ali-pacha a fait étrangler il y a quelques années. Les cruautés qui ont été commises dans cette ville sont horribles, et rappellent le souvenir affreux de celles qu'exercèrent ces brigands en 1802, dans la ville d'Imam-Hussein. Ils ont mis tout à feu et à sang, et après avoir massacré la majeure partie des habitans, ils se sont retirés précipitamment, chargés de dépouilles, et entraînant avec eux en esclavage un grand nombre de femmes et d'enfans."—p. 181.

as still to retain the character of two great plains, the one on the north-east and the other on the north-west of our present point of view. The northern prospect was bounded by the eastern extremity of the range of Mount Taurus, which here ends sloping away by a long and slow descent into the plain. I could not perceive the branch or chain of it, which is generally represented in our maps as forming a sharp angle here, and running nearly north and south; nor could I, in answer to my inquiries, glean any accurate account of the country beyond this boundary.

I had reason to believe, indeed, that the information given me of the road from Orfah to Diarbekr leading across these mountains, was incorrect; since the plain beyond their eastern extreme seems to be more in the direct way. The reason why horses, mules, and asses, are chiefly employed in that journey, and camels in this to Mardin, must be sought therefore in some other cause. While I was in the act of conversing on this subject with a stranger of the caravan near me, my host, the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, inquired of me, whether there were any mules in the country of the Franks? I replied in the affirmative;

adding, that in the south of Europe they were the principal beasts of burden used. He then gravely assured me of the fact, which he thought peculiar to the mules of this country, that they did not perpetuate their species, and was greatly surprised to learn that this defect was common to their race elsewhere. He said, that tradition had preserved a story of the old idolaters among the Chaldeans attempting to burn the Patriarch Abraham, for his having deserted the gods of his fathers, when called into the land of Canaan; and that, as mules were the animals on which the wood for the fire was carried, the mules of Mesopotamia were condemned by the Almighty to sterility for ever afterwards; though before this period they brought forth their young like other creatures. There was no authority that I remembered to set up against the latter part of this tradition, namely, that there ever had been a period in which mules enjoyed the common privilege of propagating their species. The oldest of profane historians, Herodotus,* mentions such an occurrence in the early times of which he treats,

* Thalia, 153, vol. ii. p. 339. 8vo. and Polyhymnia, 57, vol. iii. p. 482.

but he notices it as a prodigy, out of the common course of nature, and numbers it among the strange omens that preceded an important event: this, however, was a writer of whom my companion had never heard, and to whose authority he would have attached no credit, in any thing which might have tended to invalidate so pious a tradition as this, wherein the true God was made to appear as the enemy of infidels.

We continued our way over a stony land, composed principally of lime and broken flint, and covered with a profusion of fine white poppies. The soil abounded in other wild productions of the vegetable world, a great many of which were used in the common medicines of the country, and were gathered by the people of the caravan for that purpose.

As nature had been here lavish of her remedies in this almost unpeopled waste, so there were not wanting poisons and venomous creatures to make up the balance of evil and good. Among the former was a plant, which sent up a soft stalk about four feet in length from the ground, and the diameter of the human finger at the root, gradually becoming smaller. The stalk, which was full of white

frothy sap, bore a profusion of berries, about the size of large peas, hanging thickly around it. In their present state, they were of a whitish colour, and smooth on the outside; but within they were of a deep green, with black seeds of a triangular shape, and a spongy substance.

Among the insects, were several small flies, the stings of which were painful; though it is worthy of remark, that, since leaving Aleppo, we had not seen a single musquito, neither on the banks of the Euphrates at Beer, nor amid the lakes, the streams, and the gardens of Orfah, favourable as these situations might be considered for their production. The large and hideous lizard, with bloated head and eyes, so common over all Syria, had also ceased to be seen; and it was now rare to hear the croaking of frogs at night. Black beetles, such as the scarabeus of Egypt, were, however, plentiful; and large black ants, many of them a full inch in length, were also abundant, and often made us feel very sensibly the depth of their bite.

The most remarkable creature was, however, a large black scorpion, called, in Arabic, "Akrabee." It was about two inches in

length ; the first inch forming its head, breast, and legs, and I think its wings, though I did not see them opened ; and the last inch being occupied by a soft ringed body, or tail, of about a third of an inch in thickness. When touched by a stick, it seemed to divide its head into two parts ; the cleft between, forming, to all appearance, its mouth, presented a surface covered with brown and stiff hairs, like so many darts, and with these it made great efforts to touch the offending substance. While its head and breast lay thus flat on the ground, in the natural position of its motion, its body or thick tail, forming half its entire length, was cocked up in the air, at right angles with the other half or part before it, which seemed to be its head. This body or tail, so elevated, was ringed and scaled, like the tail of a lobster, but ended abruptly, as if a piece had been cut off from the trunk. In the centre of this flattened termination was a small tube, through which it emitted its venom, of a milky white ; and when teased, it expanded its large mouth, waved its heavy tail in the air, and sent forth momentary emissions of its poison. Its bite or sting was said to be generally productive of

death; though not so suddenly, but that, under skilful treatment, some efficient remedy might be applied.*

It was now near noon when we encamped in the hollow of a waving plain, near a reservoir of rain-water, which supplied our wants. To the south of us, about three miles, were seen a few trees on the brow of a hill. These were now become remarkable objects; for, since leaving Antioch, near the coast of Syria, excepting in the gardens of Aleppo, on the borders of the Euphrates, and at the town of Orfah, we had scarcely seen a tree throughout our track.† This general bareness of wood gives a very desert and melancholy aspect to a country, however productive it may be in other respects. A lover of the picturesque would soon become disgusted by the mono-

* There are representations of a similar scorpion in the forty-second plate of D'Olivier's Atlas, Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6; but the one, here imperfectly described, resembled No. 4. of that plate, more than either of the others.

† The face of the country was the same in the age of Xenophon; as, in the Anabasis, he thus describes it:— "The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; and if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; *but no trees could be seen.*"

surrounded at night by swarms of fire-flies, which are said by the natives to shew their luminous effulgence here only while they feed upon the herbs and grass of the spring, and that in the depth of winter they either emit no light, or totally disappear.

June 17th.—We departed from hence, when the moon gave us sufficient light to direct our path, and our course was now bent towards the north-east. In the progress of our way, we passed in sight of several places where there had apparently been buildings, and close by one on which the portion of a considerable edifice was still remaining. The stones of this were large and well hewn, and the masonry smooth and good. It marked the outline of an oblong square, about a hundred feet by fifty; but to what age it belonged I could not decide, nor could I learn whether the spot had any name among the people of the country.

In descending, we came to several very deep cisterns, hewn out of the hard rock, which here presented a flat surface, level with the soil, as if it had been hewn down to this level by human labour. This was rendered

more probable by there being traced out, on the face of the rock, small channels for conveying the rain-water into the reservoirs. I could not even learn the name of this place, though it no doubt had one; for so valuable a station could not but be well known and much frequented by the Arabs of the country; but as we were now out of the Derb-Sultāni, or King's highway from Orfah to Mardin, the best-informed individuals of the caravan had sufficient difficulty in making out the road at all, without knowing any thing of the names of places on it.

It was about an hour after sun-rise, gradually ascending from hence, that we reached the brow of an eminence, which opened to us a boundless prospect on the east, very similar to that which we had seen on the south when looking towards Haran. To the north, the wide plain below was bounded by an insulated range of mountains, separated from Taurus by an intervening valley of great extent; this range rising in its western and terminating in its eastern extreme, by low points gradually sloping down from the centre of its length, where its summits were highest. The general direction of this range

seemed nearly east and west, and it might extend from forty to fifty miles. Its outlines were more even, and its summits less elevated, than those of Taurus, as we saw no snow on any part of the former; whereas the southern face of the latter presented many patches of the purest white. The northern sides of both these ranges might, however, be more thickly covered with snow, from their being less exposed to the dissolving influence of the sun. The Great Eastern Plain presented an horizon like the sea, broken only in two or three places by little mounds, arising like rocks and islets out of the water.

We saw here many thin columns of smoke arising from Bedouin tents, scattered over this plain, as it was the hour for kindling morning fires, and not a breath of wind was yet stirring. We were pleased, rather than alarmed, by these appearances, because they were known to proceed from the Arabs of the country, as they are called, who satisfy themselves with a fixed tribute from all caravans passing through their districts, and do not pillage passengers, unless the payment of this is resisted by them. Their peaceably abiding in their tents induced us to hope, that the wan-

dering hordes of the Annazies, who transport themselves with such rapidity from place to place, had not reached thus far, and this hope gave new confidence to our steps.

Soon afterwards, two horsemen were seen, coming towards us across the plain: and the headmost of our caravan, consisting of its leader, Seid-Hassan, the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and myself, being all well mounted, galloped off to meet them, in order to ascertain as speedily as possible from whence, and under what sheikh or chief, they were. We found them to be Arabs of the Beni-Melān, under Abu-Aioobe-Ibin-Temar, Pasha, who were on the look-out on behalf of their tribe, with orders to let no caravans pass without payment of the regular demand of tribute.

These men were mounted on fine mares, though very wretchedly caparisoned; and their dress was rather like that of the Fellahs or cultivators of the country, than like the Bedouins I had been accustomed to see. They wore the large overhanging tarboosh, and white muslin turbans, with a serge cloak, resembling in colour, form, and substance the white Muggrebin burnoosh, used in the west of Africa; except that this had large sleeves,

and, instead of being woven like the former without seam, it was joined in the middle like the Syrian Arab cloak, by a red cord, going horizontally across the back.

Their arms were, a sword, a brace of pistols, and a long light lance, of twelve or thirteen feet in length. Both of these men were shaved, wearing only mustachios, and one of them had light blue eyes, a fair complexion, with yellow hair and eye-brows; but neither of them had a single feature at all resembling those I had been accustomed to see in the pure Arab race, from the southern extremity of the Yemen, to this the most northern limit of Arabia.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the respect which was paid to these two individuals, by the leader of our caravan, Seid-Hassan, as well as by the Hadjee, who was the chief owner of the property it conveyed; and it was from my being really unprepared to do them the homage thus spontaneously offered by my companions, that I was discovered to be a stranger, and soon made to pay dearly for such an omission.

At their giving the word, a halt was made, till they could ride round the caravan to

survey it; when, one of them remaining behind to prevent escapes, and the other preceding us, we were conducted, like a flock of sheep by a shepherd and his dog, to one of the stations of their encampment, called El Mazār.

It was near noon before we reached this place, as it lay about two hours north of the road from which we had turned off, and was just midway between the common routes to Diarbekr and Mardin, being therefore a good central station from which to guard the passage to both. There were other local advantages which rendered it eligible to these tribute-gatherers, and occasioned it to be a frequently-occupied and often-contested spot. The first of these advantages was a spring of good water, forming a running stream, and fertilizing a fine pasture-ground on each side of it. The next was a high and steep hill, which, if artificial, as, from its abruptness of ascent and regularity of form, it appeared to be, must have been a work of great labour, and served the double purpose of an elevated post of observation, from which the view could be extended widely on all sides round, and a place of security for the flocks at

night, it being quite inaccessible to mounted horsemen. The last peculiarity, which recommended this place as a station for a tribe exacting tribute, was, that the passage to one particular part, at the foot of the hill, was so exceedingly difficult, either for horses or foot-passengers, even in the day-time, that it could not be gained but very slowly, step by step, and under constant exposure and disadvantage. This last spot had been chosen for the tents of the Arabs themselves, where they were as secure as in the most regularly fortified garrison; and we were ordered to encamp in the pasture-ground below, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from them.

The first tent was scarcely raised, before we were visited by three of the chief's dependants, mounted on beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, and dressed in the best manner of Turkish military officers, with their cloth garments highly embroidered, and their swords, pistols, and khandjars, such as Pashas themselves might be proud to wear. Every one arose at their entry, and the carpets and cushions of the Hadjee, which had been laid out with more care than usual, were offered to

the chief visitor, while the rest seated themselves beside him. All those of the caravan who were present, not excepting the Hadjee himself, assumed the humiliating position of kneeling and sitting backward on their heels, which is done only to great and acknowledged superiors.

This is one of the most painful of the Mohammedan attitudes, and exceedingly difficult to be acquired, as it is performed by first kneeling on both knees, then turning the soles of the feet upward, and lastly, sitting back on these in such a manner, as that they receive the whole weight of the body, while the knees still remain pressed to the ground. I at first assumed this attitude with the rest, but an incapacity to continue it for any great length of time obliged me to rise and go out of the tent, on pretence of drinking; which simple incident, though I returned in a very few minutes afterwards to resume my seat, from its being thought a disrespectful liberty to rise at all in the presence of so great a man, without a general movement of the whole party, gave rise to very earnest inquiries regarding a person of manners so untutored.

The answers to these inquiries were highly

contradictory. Some asserted that I was an Egyptian of Georgian parents, and of the race of the Mamlouks of Cairo, from their knowing me to be really from Egypt, and from my speaking the Arabic with the accent of that country, where I had first acquired it, while they attributed my fairer complexion than that of the natives to the same cause. Others said that I was a doctor from Damascus, and suggested that I had probably been in the service of the Pasha there, as I had given some medicines to a little slave-boy of my protector, by which he had recovered from an attack of fever; coupled with which, they had heard me talk much of Damascus as a beautiful and delightful city, and therefore concluded this to be the attachment of a native. Some again insisted that I was a Muggrebin, or Arab of Morocco, acquainted with all sorts of magical charms and arts, and added, that I was certainly going to India to explore hidden treasures, to open mines of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; to fathom seas of pearls, and hew down forests of aloes-wood and cinnamon, since I was the most inquisitive being they had ever met with, and had been several times observed to write much in a small book, and

in an unknown tongue; so that, as it was even avowed by myself that I was going to India, and had neither merchandize nor baggage with me of any kind, it could be for no other purposes than these that I could have undertaken so long a journey Lastly, some gave out that I was a man of whom nobody knew the real religion; for, although I was protected under the tent of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and treated as an equal with himself, I was certainly not a Moslem of the true kind; because, at the hours of prayer, I had always been observed to retire to some other spot, as if to perform my devotions in secret, and never had yet prayed publicly with my companions. A Christian they were sure I was not, because I ate meat, and milk, and butter, on Wednesdays and Fridays, as well as on other days; and a Jew I could not be, because I wore no side locks, and trimmed the upper edge of my beard, after the manner of the Turks, which the Israelites or Yahoudis are forbidden to do. As I had been seen, however, at every place of our halt, to retire to a secluded spot and wash my whole body with water, to change my inner garments frequently, to have an aversion to vermin which was quite unnatural, and a

feeling of disgust towards certain kinds of them, amounting to something like horror, as well as carefully to avoid being touched or lain upon by dirty people, and at night to sleep always aloof from and on the outskirts of the caravan, they concluded, that I was a priest of some of those idolatrous nations of whom they had heard there were many in India, the country to which I was going, and who, they had also understood, had many of these singular aversions, so constantly exhibited by myself.

All this being openly declared by one mouth or another, from individuals of the caravan, who had crowded around our tent, and in the hearing of the Hadjee himself, he found it necessary to clear me from all these imputations, by declaring me at once to be an Englishman, whom he had taken under his protection. These Arabs had never heard of such a people; but when it was said a Franjee, (or a Frank,) "Oh!" said one of them, "*they* are the people who come from Ajām,* and *I* know how to prove or try them." A cup of water

* Ajam is the name given by the Arabs to Persia, and among the most ignorant of them is generally applied to all countries eastward of their own.

was then at this man's request brought to me, and I was requested to drink out of it, being first told that the cup belonged to a Jew of the caravan. I drank, as requested, and then the man declared, with a loud voice, that I was an impostor, since the Franjee were all Ajāmi, and the Ajāmi would rather die than drink out of the cup of a Yahoodi, or Jew.

I know not how so strange an assemblage of ideas had been formed in this man's brain, but it was such as to produce on the minds of all who heard him the firmest conviction of my having deceived even my companions. I was then questioned about the country of the English and that of India, and my answers to these questions only made the matter still worse. As they believe the world to be a perfect plain, surrounded by a great sea, so as to be like a square mass floating in water, the Mohammedans generally inquire how the countries lie in succession, one *within* another in the different quarters, taking their own for nearly the centre of all. My replies to such questions were directed by truth, for the sake of avoiding self-contradiction, to which I should have been very liable if I had been cross-examined, and had endeavoured to shape

my answers to their absurd theory. I admitted, however, in conformity to their own notions, that the eastern world ended at the Great Sea beyond China, the western world in the Pacific Ocean, the southern in the Sea of Yemen, and the northern in the Frozen Ocean. The details of dog-headed nations, of women growing on trees and falling off when ripe for marriage, of men forty yards high, and other equally absurd matters of Eastern fable and belief, were then all inquired about, and my answers to these being less satisfactory than even those to preceding questions, the opinion of my being an impostor was confirmed, more particularly as some one had mischievously mentioned my having been already detained at Beer, as a chief of Janissaries, who had committed some crime, and was therefore flying from Aleppo.

While all this was going on beneath the tent, a scene of a different description was passing without. The two horsemen whom we had first met were employed in arranging all the goods and baggage, according to their respective owners, in separating the Christians from the Moslems, and in making the necessary preparations for the levy of their tribute

from the caravan. A paper was then brought, containing a written statement, drawn up by one of our party, at the command of the surveyors, and by him read to the chief; for neither himself, nor any of his attendants, appeared to be able to read or write. While all the rest humbly knelt around him, this chief stretched himself, with an affectation of contempt, along the carpet on the ground, and threw his legs occasionally in the air. It was neither the attitude of weariness, nor the rude carelessness of unpolished life; but a barbarian or savage notion of dignity, which consisted only in shewing to those around him how much he despised them.

It was just at this moment that the Hadjee contrived to lay before this Chief, with his own hands, and with an attitude of the greatest humility, a box of presents, containing a rich Cashmeer shawl, some female ornaments, an amber mouth-piece for a Turkish pipe, and other articles, amounting in value to at least fifteen hundred piastres, or fifty pounds sterling. These the brutal despot turned over, with a look of as much indifference as he had assumed from the beginning, and neither deigned to praise them, nor to seem even

pleased with the gift. The list of our goods being then read to him, a certain sum was commanded to be affixed to each name, and, to judge from his manner of naming it, the amount of this was entirely arbitrary. The owners of the merchandize were then ordered to pay twenty piastres for each camel-load, fifteen for each horse or mule, and ten for every ass. The leader of the caravan was to pay a thousand piastres, to be levied by him in any way he thought proper on the persons composing it; the merchants were to give a thousand Spanish dollars for the members of their class; the Mokhōddesy, or pilgrims from Jerusalem, were to raise fifteen hundred piastres among themselves, which was a still harder condition than the preceding; and I was condemned to pay one thousand piastres, instead of five thousand, which it was contended would have been demanded of me, if I had not been under the protection of Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, who had smoothed his way by his presents to the Chief.

The sums named for the merchandize were instantly agreed to be paid; but the other assessments were not so easily to be obtained; as their amount was not only exorbitant, but

the persons named were really unable to raise it. The leader of the caravan reduced his tribute to five hundred piastres, of which he paid the half himself, and raised the other half by subscription. The merchants compromised for two thousand, which was furnished by about ten of the principal ones; and the pilgrims could not raise altogether five hundred piastres, though they formed, in number, nearly two-thirds of the caravan.

The two men who exercised the duty of collectors, and who, being on the look-out on that day, were perhaps interested by a specific share of the prize-money, behaved with the greatest insolence and cruelty. They ransacked the private baggage of such as they suspected to have any thing worth taking, and selected from amongst it whatever they pleased. When they came to mine, I trembled for the result, as, though consisting only of a pair of small khoordj or saddle-bags, and a portmanteau, these contained all that was necessary, not merely for my journey, but for the success of my views in the East. In them were the money with which Mr. Barker had furnished me for my journey, a gold watch, all my Indian letters and papers,

which if seen would have made them think me a greater man than they had yet imagined me to be, and induced them to augment their demand; a thermometer, compass, and other instruments, all now crowded, by the advice of the Hadjee, into this small space, to escape observation, from the fear that if seen they would occasion my being taken for a magician, and this idea would be confirmed by their finding among the rest of the things some few medicines, and broken specimens of mineralogy, of which no one would have known or even imagined the use.

I made all the efforts in my power to prevent the portmanteau from being opened, but, whenever I advanced to interfere, I was driven back by blows and insults, until, seeing them proceed to loosen the straps, I entreated the Hadjee to intercede for me, saying, that it had cost me much trouble to get the things there into a small space, and begging that they might not be ransacked. The motive was suspected, and occasion was taken of it to say, that if I chose to pay the thousand piastres demanded of me, nothing should be disturbed. I had before declared, that I had no more money with

me than the few piastres shewn to them in my purse, and said that, as I was poor, I hoped to get along by the help of the faithful, and by such sum as should be produced by the sale of my horse at the journey's end. All the money that I had, indeed, except these few piastres, which were necessary for the current wants of the road, was really within the khoordj, the greater amount being in a bill on a merchant of Bagdad, and the remainder in gold coin, carefully secured, and I could not pay it, if disposed to do so, without opening this package. I was allowed a moment to consult with the Hadjee, to whom I stated my wish rather to accede to these terms, hard as they were, than to have my baggage opened, which might, perhaps, lead to still worse consequences, as in it money would be found, which would betray my having deceived them, and other articles of still greater value, which would be, perhaps, taken from me altogether. He then, after fruitless efforts to reduce it lower, agreed to pay the sum required, on condition that my effects should not be disturbed; and it was of course understood, that I was to re-

turn this sum to him either on the road, or on our arrival at Mardin.

The poor pilgrims were treated even worse than I had been; for they had not only their effects taken from them, to make up for a pretended deficiency of tribute, but many of them were severely beaten into the bargain.

This duty of exacting and paying the tributes occupied all parties very busily until after El Assr, the hour of afternoon prayers. The chief of this robber-tribe had already washed and prayed, however, with all due formality, beneath the tent, during the time of the pillage: for prayer, among a very large portion of Mohammedans, is not so much performed as a duty of religion, as it is to imply manhood and consequence. What we mean in Europe by *devotion*, namely, a pouring out of the soul before an invisible Being, as much loved as feared, and a feeling of gratitude for his blessings, is certainly very rare among them, though there is no people in whose mouths the name of God, or the expression of thanks to him, is more frequent.

As soon as all these revolting proceedings were ended, we were commanded, rather than

invited, to go up to the camp to supper. I would willingly have staid behind; but, though I pretended incapacity from indisposition, I was not suffered to remain. I had seen the people of the tribe take a khandjar or dagger from one, and a brace of pistols from another; and although I had escaped having my musket taken from me, as that was a weapon not in general use among them, yet I was apprehensive for the fate of my sword, which was a very excellent old Damascus blade, and cost upwards of a thousand piastres in Egypt. As it was too large to have it packed away in any of the parcels of our baggage, I had contrived, by lifting it up between my shoulders, to conceal it behind my back, beneath my abba or cloak; but it was difficult either to mount, to dismount, or to change positions in any way, without risking its being seen.

I went up to the encampment, however, on foot, while most of the rest went on horseback; taking my sword with me in the position described, as I had no opportunity of leaving it behind, without the certainty of its being discovered and taken from me by those of the hostile tribe who were guarding our tents. When we arrived at the camp,

we found about a hundred and eighty tents, all of black hair-cloth, and of a form neither purely Arab nor Turcoman, but combining the peculiarities of each. They were generally raised on several small poles; some consisted only of one apartment, others of two, and the partitions and outer enclosures were invariably of reeded matting. The tent of the chief was very large, and its roof was supported by at least forty poles: it was of an oblong form, divided into two squares; one of these, being enclosed from the outer side, was appropriated to the females; the other was open on the two fronts, and closed at the centre for the harem.

We found in this tent two persons, superior even to the chief who had visited us below. These were seated on fine divans, lolling on rich cushions; and one of them, a corpulent man, with a long white beard, was dressed in silk cloths and furs, with a high cap, of a kind between that of a Delhi and a Tatar. We knelt humbly around on the earth, and were barked at by large dogs, stared at by dirty and ill-dressed children, and eyed by the women from the openings in the partitions of the tent; the whole presenting a greater

mixture of the rudeness of Arab manners with the luxurious indolence of the Turkish, than I had ever before seen.

Supper was served almost instantly after the first cup of coffee had been taken. This consisted of a whole sheep, two lambs, and two kids; the former set before us with its limbs unsevered, the four latter in separate dishes of a large size, cut into pieces, and boiled with wheat in the husk. We had warm bread, and an abundance of lebben or sour milk, for which last only spoons were used, the boiled wheat being eaten by hándfuls. The whole was despatched with the haste of beasts devouring their prey, and fearing to lose it by delay; and as every one, after washing his hands and mouth, poured out the water on the ground before him, without using a towel or a basin, the whole space within the tent was speedily inundated. The earth at length, however, absorbed it; but so rudely was every thing done amidst this abundance, and even luxury, that hands and faces were wiped in the sleeves of shirts, or skirts of cloaks, or else left to dry in the air. Coffee was again served, and as the sun was declining we prepared to return.

We were detained, however, by an affray that was likely to have proved fatal to many, and did indeed end in the wounding a considerable number, on each side, of the combatants.—During the supposed moment of security, while we sat beneath the tent of the chief, we observed a party of Turcoman horse, belonging, it was afterwards said, to another tribe, passing through the camp, leading with them several camels and their lading, taken from our caravan. Immediately, the whole camp became a scene of warfare. Our legitimate pillagers, roused with indignation at the interference of other intruders on their sacred ground, rushed to horse and to arms. All the members of the caravan who had come up here by command, some mounted, and some on foot, rushed out to join them. A battle ensued: the horsemen, with their spears and swords, the men on foot with their muskets, pistols, and daggers, were previously engaged, hand to hand. Many were run through and through, with the long lances of the cavaliers, and afterwards trampled under their horses' hoofs; several others were wounded with sabre cuts, and still more had severe contusions and bruises. All were hotly

engaged, at close quarters, for half an hour at least, and it fell to my lot to come into grappling contact with three individuals in succession, neither of whom escaped unhurt from the struggle. It ended, however, in victory declaring on our side, in the recovery of the plundered property, and the chasing the intruders from the camp.

It was faint twilight when this contest ended, and as it was desirable to get to our tents before it became dark, those who had ridden up to the camp, mounted the same horses to go back; but as I was on foot, a saddled mare was presented to me. I declined to ride, and begged to be permitted to walk. It was answered, that it would be a great breach of politeness to suffer one like me to depart from the tent of the chief on foot, and, in short, my riding was insisted on. I was obliged to yield; and, when mounting, my sword, which after the affray I had still continued to conceal, as before, was, as I expected, discovered. As the people of the country never see arms of any kind without examining them, it was in vain to resist their inspection of this. I was accordingly taken in to the sheikh, who expressed himself

pleased with it. He asked how much it had cost me: I was afraid to name any sum; because, if I told him justly, he would have concluded that I was rich; if I stated its value at a low estimate, he would have excused himself for taking it from me as a thing of little value. I therefore said it had been given to me by a friend whom I respected; and added, that I valued it so highly on that account, that I would suffer my life to be taken from me rather than part with it. This was uttered in a very determined tone, as the only method which presented itself to my mind, of escaping from extortion. It had, in part, the desired effect; but to compensate to the sheikh for his relinquishing all further claim to it, on account of the motive of my estimating it so highly, I was obliged to give him another sword, belonging to the nephew of my host, for which I engaged to pay this young man two hundred and fifty piastres, or return him one of equal value at Mardin.

After being thus literally fleeced, we returned to our camp, fatigued as much by the vexations of the day, as by the privation of our usual noon-sleep, and the bustle we had undergone in the mid-day sun. On going

back, we saw the look-out boys descending from the summit of the steep hill, before mentioned, as one of the eminences of this post, and others were driving the flocks into stone enclosures, for their greater security through the night.

I had, at first, taken these enclosures for the remaining foundations of destroyed buildings; but, on a nearer examination, they appeared to be only sheep-folds, constructed of loose stones, with a door of entrance, and the enclosing walls just sufficiently high to prevent the animals escaping. There was here, however, on the south-western side of the hill, the portion of an old building, now in ruins. Its masonry was of unburnt bricks of a large size, but thin, and well cemented. I observed in it a good Roman arch, as of a recess, in the inner wall, but of what age its construction was, or to what purpose it had been applied, it would now be difficult to determine. The whole of the stones were large round insulated masses of the black porous basalt, so often described in the plains of the Haurān, on the eastern frontiers of Syria.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ARAB CAMP AT EL MAZAR, TO MARDIN.

June 18th.—The confusion into which all the packages had been thrown, by the ransacking of the preceding day, occasioned great delay this morning to set them in proper order, so that it was long after sun-rise when we departed, although we had all been stirring, as usual, at the rising of the moon.

We continued our way north-easterly over the plain, in order to get into the track of the Arabs, to whom we had thus dearly paid tribute; a man of their tribe having been despatched to the chief in that direction, to acquaint him with this, and to permit us to pass in safety, without further extortions.

From all that I could learn, the usual places of encampment of this tribe of Beni-Melān

CHAPTER VIII.

ANCIENT ARABIC REMAINS

IN THE RUINED TOWN OF KOACH HASSAR.

were on the southern road from Orfah to Mardin, and the more northern route from Orfah to Diarbekr; they had now, however, shifted their position, from a fear of the Annazies, who were much more powerful than themselves, and with whom their only mode of warfare would be by retreating, unless surprised and obliged to fight. These Annazies were estimated at fifty thousand horsemen at least, according to the testimony of the Beni-Melān themselves, as well as that of others who professed to be intimately acquainted with their resources.

In our progress over the plain on which we now travelled, we passed wide tracts of the finest land, producing a high grass exactly like corn. Indeed, I did not at first know it to be otherwise, until, by a comparison of it with fuller ears of grain in some sown patches near it, the difference was perceived. Even at the time of that examination, however, I still thought the first to be wheat in its indigenous state. Excepting only some few stony portions, where goats and sheep chiefly fed, the whole tract was one waving field of yellow harvest, seeming to invite the sickle; and in cleared patches of this were seen not less than

five hundred tents, scattered in groups of from thirty to fifty each, in different parts of our way, with large herds of bullocks and horned cattle feeding in this luxuriant pasture.

At such of the tents as were near our path, we drank milk and coffee; and after an agreeable road of only three hours, in which, however, we were oppressed by the violent heat and the fatigue of the preceding day, we halted at noon near a pool of rain-water, to replenish the supply of the caravan.

Our situation was in itself sufficiently painful to all, but its effect was heightened to me by the forlorn situation in which I found myself here, without friend or companion, servant or interpreter; hearing every hour four or five strange languages, one of which only (the Arabic) I understood, and seeing in every individual about me a rudeness and selfishness of the most repulsive kind, however justified it might have been by the necessary dependance of every man on his own exertions.

It is true that here no one is superior to another, but by his own capacity of enduring hunger and thirst, heat and cold, watching and fatigue; and his only safeguard consists in the union of his own vigilance and courage with

that of others, who are all strangers to him. The contracted and selfish interest to which this necessarily gives rise, the frequent refusal of one to render the least assistance to another, where his own benefit is not immediately concerned, and the insolence with which those are addressed who are thought in any way to delay the general progress, are constant subjects of disgust and irritation to all parties.

In the evening we were visited by two wandering musicians, of the Koordi, or Curd-people, one of whom played on a rude guitar, and the other sang some Koord songs, which were lively and not destitute of natural melody. We had, at the same time, the following striking instance of the frivolous appeals to the Deity among the Mohammedans. A man went round the caravan, crying, with a loud voice, "In the name of God, the just, and the merciful. My cup is gone from me: it disappeared while I prayed at sun-set; (and may God grant my evening prayer.) To whoever may find the same, may God lengthen out his life, may God augment his pleasures, and may God bring down affairs of business on his head!" This pompous appeal to heaven, and the prayers for good fortune to the finder of

the missing utensil, were all powerless, however, in their effect. The lost cup was not found ; and the consolation then assumed was, " God knows where it is gone, but it was written in heaven from of old."

As the Koordi inhabiting the hills near us had the reputation of being great robbers, we lay encamped to night in closer order than usual, every man by his horse, ready armed and accoutred, and catching at intervals an hour's sleep upon his sword or his spear.*

On departing from our station, we went a course of east-south-east, over the plain, which was an alternate succession of stony tracts, and fertile soil, covered with rich grass and corn. The stones were black, porous, and in separate masses of from one to five hundred

* Travelling in Mesopotamia seems, even in the earliest ages of which we have any records, to have been little less dangerous than at present. In the history of Isaac and Rebekah, when Abraham sent his chief servant from Canaan to Haran, to betroth the damsel, it is said, " It was a considerable while before the servant got thither; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, where it is tedious travelling in winter, for the depth of the clay; and in summer, for want of water; and, besides, is dangerous, by reason of the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers, but by caution before hand."—*Josephus, Antiq. of the Jews*, b. i. c. 16. s. 1.

pounds weight, above the surface of the ground, resembling in form, though not in colour, large masses of sponge. Some, indeed, were semi-globular above the earth; and where they were broken on the surface, shewed coatings of different lamina like the coats of an onion, while the points of such few ridges as thrust themselves above the soil, were of a more solid kind. The remarkable perforations which appeared in the greater portion of these stones, did not seem to depend on their greater or less exposure to the air; for the freshest and blackest of them were as full of these as the most decomposed; and when broken, the interior presented the same appearance as the part without. The soil was a fine brown mould, of a light colour, apparently equal in depth and fertility to that of Egypt.

After a march of about two hours, we reached a burying-place of the tribe of Beni-Melān, under the foot of a small hill, on the sides of which were enclosures of stone for the security of flocks. The graves here were of a different form from any that I had yet seen in the country, being of the usual length and breadth, but built in a strait wall on all sides

up from the ground, to the height of seven or eight feet, and then closed on the top by a semicircular or convex covering of stone. At each end rose a small slab, without ornament or inscription of any kind.

There were nearly fifty of these tombs, but the principal one was that of Temar Pasha, the father of Aioobe, the present chief of the tribe. It consisted of an octagonal outer wall, enclosing a well-paved court, the ascent to which was by a flight of steps. In the centre of this court rose an octangular building, having an open arch in each of its sides, and being covered by a well-executed dome. Beneath this, stood the tomb of the Pasha, which presented the appearance of an open grave, the sides being raised about a foot above the level of the surface, and the central part hollow to that depth. Around these sides were seen the common ornaments of the Turkish frieze reversed, as remarked on the tombs at Orfah; and at the head of the grave was raised a perpendicular stone of the common form, containing the monumental inscription in Arabic, and crowned by the high cap between the form of that worn by the Tatars and that used by the Delhis. In the

paved court without this central octagonal building, were two other humbler tombs, probably those of the wives or children of the Pasha himself.

We continued our march from hence, going east-south-east, until nearly noon, when, having been in motion about eight hours, we halted near a pool of rain-water, in a hollow of the plain, and close to the foot of a small round hill called Tal Jaffer. We had now all around us a level view, broken only by little hillocks; excepting on the north, where the plain terminated at the range of hills before spoken of, as forming the insulated mass, east of Taurus. This is called in Turkish, Karaj Dag, and in Arabic Jebel el Asswad, both signifying the Black Mountain. It is probable, from its name, that it is formed of the black stone so common over all this tract.

In the evening, some Yezideeah, as they were here called, halted at our tent, on their journey from the eastward towards Orfah, and took coffee with us. These men were very different in their appearance from those I had before seen at Orfah; the individuals of the present party having round harsh features, red complexions, and stiff wiry hair. They were

said, however, to be genuine Yezeedis from Sinjār, so that there must be a variety of character and race among them. Out of the ten that we saw here, there was not one whose countenance did not bear the mark of great villany; such as might recommend them for the execution of any bloody purpose, and make them fit and faithful servants of the demon whom they were said to worship.

During their stay with us, they requested a letter to be written in Arabic, by a member of our caravan, which was dictated by one of themselves aloud. Though the letter extended to nearly fifty lines, it consisted entirely of personal salutations from every one of their party, to a host of names among their friends, saying that they had arrived safe thus far, and, by the blessing of God, hoped soon to return to them, after a prosperous journey. Among the names recited, the common Arabic ones prevailed, though there were some that I had never before heard; the title of "Cowāl" was affixed to more than half of these, and was, as I learnt, the distinctive appellation of their priests, who are said to be as numerous as the rest of the community.

Among the new particulars which I heard of this people, it was said, that in their sacred books no mention is made of any superior beings, except Sheitān and Eesa, or Satan and Jesus; but they paid to the former the higher honours of the two; as they did not scruple to use the name of Jesus, while that of Satan could not, even by the most cruel deaths, be extorted from them. The interview described in the Gospels, where the Devil is said to have tempted the Messiah; the instances of his sending whole legions of his inferior spirits to torment men, and possess herds of swine; and more particularly the occasion on which the Devil is said to have taken Christ up into a high mountain, to have shewn him all the kingdoms of this world, and promised them to him if he would fall down and worship him;—are all interpreted by them as favourable to the high dignity of this Prince or Melek, as they call him. They contend, that if the assertion of the Gospel be true, that all the kingdoms of the earth *are* at the disposal of Satan, and the power and the glory of them delivered to him, to give to whomsoever he will, he must be a personage of the highest consideration, and one whose

favour all the *good* kings and emperors of the earth must have won; for to *his* influence alone do they owe the possession of their respective thrones. This is the orthodox doctrine in the mountains of Sinjār; and any one who should dispute it, would no doubt be treated with much the same kind of indulgence that is shewn to sceptics elsewhere.

The Yezeedis have one large church, somewhere in the north of Mesopotamia, which they all visit at the yearly feast; and besides this, there are many smaller ones in their native hills. The brazen image of a cock is said to be set up in their temples, as an object of adoration; but they suffer no one to enter their places of worship except themselves, and are also scrupulously reserved on the subject of their religious opinions, in which particulars, as well as in their isolated situation in a range of mountains going by their name, they resemble the Druzes and Nessaries in Syria. Their women are most carefully concealed from public view; but I could not learn whether each man confined himself to one wife or not. Blue, which is the distinctive colour of the Christians throughout the Turkish empire, is studiously avoided by them. They will neither

sit upon it nor touch it, as they consider it the colour peculiarly sacred to Satan. Nevertheless, those very Christians, who are compelled to wear this distinguishing colour as a mark of inferiority imposed on them by their Turkish masters, are, in the estimation of the Yezeedis, much inferior to the Mohammedans, with whom they are generally at open war.*

* These particulars, as well as the several others already mentioned, and each gleaned from information on the spot, are strongly corroborated by the facts mentioned in the Memoir of Père Garzoni, already quoted, and especially by the two following paragraphs :—

" Ces sectaires ont un très-grand respect pour les monastères Chrétiens qui sont dans leurs environs. Quand ils vont les visiter, ils ôtent leurs chasseures avant d'entrer dans l'enceinte, et, marchant pieds nus, ils baisent la porte et les murs ; ils croient par là s'assurer la protection du saint dont le couvent porte le nom. S'il leur arrive, pendant une maladie, de voir en rêve quelque monastère, ils ne sont pas plutôt guéris qu'ils vont le visiter, et y porter des offrandes d'encens, de cire, de miel, ou de quelque autre chose. Ils y demeurent environ un quart d'heure, et en baisent de nouveau les murailles avant de se retirer. Ils ne font aucune difficulté de baiser les mains du patriarche ou de l'évêque, qui est supérieur du monastère. Quant aux mosquées des Turcs, ils s'abstiennent d'y entrer."

" Le chef des Yézidis a toujours près de lui un autre

JUNE 20th.—The moon was now so far advanced in her wane as to yield us little light before the morning, so that it was broad day-

personnage qu'ils appellent *kotchek*, et sans le conseil duquel il n'entreprend rien. Celui-ci est regardé comme l'oracle du chef, parce qu'il a le privilège de recevoir immédiatement des révélations du Diable. Aussi quand un Yézidi hésite s'il doit entreprendre quelque affaire importante, il va trouver le *kotchek*, et lui demander un avis, qu'il n'obtient point néanmoins sans qu'il lui en coûte quelque argent. Avant de satisfaire à la consultation, le *kotchek*, pour donner plus de poids à sa réponse, s'étend tout de son long par terre, et se couvrant il dort, ou fait semblant de dormir, après quoi il dit qu'il lui a été révélé pendant son sommeil telle ou telle décision : quelquefois il prend un délai de deux ou trois nuits, pour donner sa réponse. L'exemple suivant fera voir combien est grande la confiance que l'on a en ses révélations. Jusqu'à il y a environ quarante ans, les femmes des Yézidis portoient, comme les femmes Arabes, afin d'épargner le savon, des chemises bleues teintes avec l'indigo. Un matin, lorsque l'on s'y attendoit le moins, le *kotchek* alla trouver le chef de la secte, et lui déclara que pendant la nuit précédente il lui avoit été révélé, que le bleu étoit une couleur de mauvais augure et qui déplaisoit au Diable. Il n'en fallut pas davantage pour que l'on envoyât sur le champ à toutes les tribus, par des exprès, l'ordre de proscrire la couleur bleue, de se défaire de tous les vêtemens qui étoient de cette couleur, et d'y substituer des habits blancs. Cet ordre fut éxécuté avec une telle exactitude, que si aujourd'hui un Yézidi se trouvant logé chez un Turc ou chez

light before we were all in motion. Our route was directed a point more southerly than before, but the face of the country over which we travelled was nearly the same, consisting of stony tracts, fine grass-covered plains, and some few patches of corn-land, alternately succeeding each other.

On the south of us was the Great Desert, on which the eye soon became fatigued to look, as it had all the monotony of a sea-view, without the freshness of its colouring, or the variety occasioned by the winds and waves by which this last is continually agitated. We now opened in the north-east a second range of isolated mountains, rising more abruptly, having more broken outlines, and being of a greater height than those of Karaj Dag. These were called Jebel Mardin, and near their centre the city of that name was said to stand.

In all our progress to-day, we saw neither houses, tents, nor flocks, though we passed several wells and springs, as well as pools of

un Chrétien, on lui donnoit une couverture de lit bleue, il dormiroit plutôt avec ses seuls vêtemens, que de faire usage de cette couverture, fût-ce même dans la saison la plus froide."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, pp. 197—202.

rain-water, preserved in natural hollows of the land, and still fresh and good.

It was before noon when we halted at one of these, named Uslam Deddé, large enough to be called a lake. Its borders were edged around by large masses of black rock and tall rushes, and its waters contained crabs and small fish, some of which were caught and eaten. On its banks was an abundance of rich grass, which furnished welcome refreshment to our horses and mules, while the camels seemed to prefer the drier herbs more remote from the edge of the lake. As its waters were deep, many of our company bathed here, and myself among the number, finding it refreshing beyond description to wash my whole body and change my inner garments; for the dirt and vermin accumulated in a few days only, by eating, drinking, and sleeping among fakīrs and dervishes, with which the pious Hadjee's tent and table were always crowded, is scarcely to be conceived, without actual experience of the evil.

As we had intelligence that the Sheikh Aioobe Ibin Temar Pasha was encamped in the neighbourhood, with all his suite, it was deemed necessary for the heads of our

caravan to visit him with presents, to prevent any further extortions from his tribe. The party was small, and I carefully avoided making one of the number; for though I had already contributed more than my share, I should have been, most probably, forced or inveigled into a further contribution.

It appeared, from what I could learn of this tribe, that its founder was a disgraced Pasha, who escaped the sword of the executioner at Constantinople; and bringing away with him both money and troops, forced his march down through Asia Minor, till, getting safe beyond the mountains of Taurus, he took refuge in these extensive plains. He then invited to his tent adventurers and outcasts from every quarter, so that he soon had a numerous force about him, formed of excellent materials for his purpose. For the life he was to lead, as an independant freebooter on the territory of the sovereign by whom he had been disgraced, no man could be more fit than this fugitive chief; and, by the aid of his adherents, he soon succeeded in making himself acknowledged lord of these domains, and feared even by the established Pashas of Diarbekr and Aleppo. After a long reign, he died, and left

the chieftainship of the host to his son, the present Sheikh Aioobe, who is himself far advanced in years.

This tribe is said to consist of about fifty thousand tents, scattered over the country between Mount Taurus on the north, and the Great Desert on the south, and from the borders of the sea on the west, as far as Mardin on the east. The variety of national character here brought together accounts for the corrupt state of their manners, as well as for the different styles of physiognomy which we observed among them. Their women are mostly unveiled, though but few of them are pretty. We saw none who were dressed purely as Arabs; they wear a white chemise with long and ample sleeves, tied to meet behind the neck, so as to leave the arms bare, a coloured cotton gown, and a turban or calpac, like the Turkish chaook, covered with white cloth. Neither do they stain their skin with blue, or load their arms with heavy bracelets, after the manner of the Bedouin females.

To the north and west of their district are the Turcomans, already spoken of, with whom these people live in tolerable amity; and in the south-east, just beyond our halting station,

were a small tribe of Desert Arabs, called Beni Hadideel. These were said to amount to no more than about one thousand tents; but they are represented to be all Seids or Shereefs, that is, noble, or descendants of the Prophet. On this account, they all wear the green turban, which distinguishes them from ordinary Moslems, and they are among the very few of the Desert tribes who have continued faithful to the orthodox doctrines of Mohammed, and resisted the innovations of the Wahābees. The incursions of the Annazies, with whom, as heretics, this tribe is at war, having driven them farther north than usual, the smoke of their evening fires was pointed out to us, from hence, in one of their encampments to the southward, upon the borders of the Great Desert, but we could not distinguish the tents themselves.*

* The following description of the appearance and nature of the Southern Desert is accurately and happily expressed:—

"Le long de l'Euphrate et du Tigre, et sur les deux bords du Schatt-el-Arab qui est formé de la réunion de leurs eaux, on ne rencontre que fort peu de forêts, encore n'y croît-il point d'arbres de haute futaie; ce ne sont partout que des terrains couverts de taillis, de roseaux, et de broussailles, qui offrent les plus tristes perspectives: à

JUNE 21st.—We set out at a later hour than usual this morning, as the sky was lowering, and the sun at its rising obscured by a red mist. The air was calm, but a disagreeable

gauche du premier de ces fleuves, est l'immense et aride désert de l'Arabie, borné à l'ouest et au midi par la mer, et où l'œil du voyageur n'aperçoit, ni collines, ni vallées, ni bois, ni sources, enfin aucun de ces aspects pittoresques, et gracieux ou terribles, que la nature s'est plu à réunir dans d'autres pays sous mille formes variées.

" Cependant c'est ce même désert que les grandes caravanes de chameaux traversent une ou deux fois chaque année, pour pourvoir Alep, Damas, et Bagdad, des marchandises propres à alimenter leur commerce, et leur luxe : on n'y trouve ni sentier frayé, ni chemin battu, soit parce que la route est peu fréquentée, soit parce que les sables emportés par le vent ont bientôt fait disparoître les traces des hommes et des animaux. On peut dire que c'est un océan de sable, où les Arabes se dirigent par la seule inspection du soleil et des étoiles, comme ceux qui voyagent sur mer. D'après ce qui vient d'être dit de l'aridité et de la sécheresse de ce désert, brûlé d'ailleurs par les ardeurs du soleil, on aura peut-être peine à comprendre, comment ceux qui s'y enfoncent peuvent trouver de l'eau, et ne pas mourir de soif. On a pourvu à ce besoin, en creusant de gîte en gîte des puits, dont l'eau, quoique saumatre et quelquefois même tout-à-fait corrompue, ne laisse pas de servir à abreuver les Arabes et leurs chameaux. En hiver, les pluies forment en divers endroits des lacs et des marais ; alors le voyage n'est pas si désagréable, ni si pénible."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, pp. 53—55.

and suffocating heat prevailed, all which were considered symptoms of an approaching southern wind. Two hours after sun-rise the heat was insupportable, and, even from the people of the country, the general cry was to halt.

It was about this time when the wind began to be felt by us, coming in short and sudden puffs, which, instead of cooling or refreshing, oppressed us even more than the calm, each of these blasts seeming like the hot and dry vapour of an oven just at the moment of its being opened. The Southern Desert was now covered with a dull red mist, not unlike the sun-rise skies of our northern climates on a rainy morning, and soon after we saw large columns of sand and dust whirled up into the air, and carried along in a body over the plain with a slow and stately motion. One of these passed within a few hundred yards of us to the northward, having been driven over a long tract of stony land, to a distance of perhaps twenty miles from the place of its rising. It was apparently from eighty to a hundred feet in diameter, and was certainly of sufficient force, by its constant whirling motion, to throw both men and animals off their legs, so that if crossing a crowded caravan, and

broken by the interruption of its course, the danger of suffocation to those buried beneath its fall would be very great, though, if persons were prepared for it, it might not perhaps be fatal. The wind now grew into a steady southern storm, and blew with a violence which rendered our march confused and difficult, till at last we were obliged to encamp, before the usual number of hours' march had been performed.

The course we had pursued to-day was nearly east-south-east, and the distance not more than ten miles in five hours of time. Our road still maintained the same character of a fertile plain, and was covered with the same kind of black basalt, now seen in smaller pieces, of a still more porous substance, some of them resembling the ragged cinders formed by the coal and iron of a smith's fire. We passed over a piece of ground where the native rock was visible, pointing its ragged surface above the level of the soil, and forming a bed of pure stone, without any mixture of earth. It was here that I remarked the same appearances as those observed in the basaltic masses of the Haurān, namely, in some places presenting circular and serpentine furrows, as

if the matter had been once a fluid, and had suddenly cooled while in the act of a whirling motion; while in other places, where the masses were of a semi-globular form, and coated like onions, it had the appearance of a fluid matter suddenly becoming solid, while in the act of ebullition, and throwing up thick bubbles, such as are seen on the surface of boiling tar or pitch.

Towards the close of our march, we passed through some villages of Koords, all of them very small and meanly built. The dwellings were generally constructed of small stones, or unburnt bricks; they were all low, having only a door of entrance to admit light and air, and were roofed either with a sloping thatch of straw, or reeds, plastered over with mud. Some, indeed, were simply formed of two walls, with a roofing of hair-cloth, like a tent, raised over them; and others were entirely tents of the worst and poorest kind. The people make of these villages only a temporary habitation, in the sowing and reaping season of the year; so that they are deserted for a greater length of time than they are inhabited, and are, therefore, not

worth the care bestowed on more permanent residences.*

The Koords occupy a tract of country to the north and east of this, extending beyond Diarbekr, in the former direction, and as far as Mousul, in the latter; so that the river Tigris may be said to form their north-eastern boundary, the Desert of the Arabs their southern one, and the Euphrates their extended western limit, few of them being found even to the westward of the great plain of the Turcomans, at the eastern foot of Taurus. They prefer the mountains to the plains, and generally make the former the place of their permanent habitations for their families and property. As they unite the pursuits of shepherds and cultivators, they descend into the plains, in the early spring, to plough the land, and in the summer to reap the harvest, leaving their fields in the interval to the care only of the few boys and women who attend upon the

* The following is mentioned by Otter as a peculiarity of the Koords:—"Comme ces gens n'ont point de maisons, ils font de grands trous dans la terre, où ils cachent si bien leurs grains qu'ils est difficile de les trouver."—*Otter*, t. 1. p. 118.

flocks that graze below. They are all Moslems, though they are said to be indifferent to the duties of their religion, and to be the most cunning and treacherous robbers in these parts.

The fear of communicating with them in any way was so great in our caravan, that, though many were famishing with thirst, they would not halt at a Koord's hut, for fear of being robbed; and when I did so, though without alighting from my horse, merely drinking the water brought to me, with my bridle still in my hands, I was severely reproved by the good old Hadjee, as having imprudently incurred a great risk, which he thought no discreet person ought to run.

The practice of these Koords is, it seems, to shew every mark of hospitality to strangers and passengers, to invite them into their dwellings, and serve them with their best fare; when, under pretence of examining and admiring, or sometimes of even purchasing, their arms, clothes, &c. they get the articles out of the stranger's sight, when some one in league with the host goes off with them in security. Instances were related to me of their having taken even the horse from

his rider, and laughingly wished him afterwards a good journey on foot. All were agreed on their being rather cunning and dexterous thieves, than open robbers, like their more daring neighbours on the south.

In our way, we had seen some of those Koords from the northern hills, or those called generally Jebel Mardin, and the dress of these was nearly that of the Bedouin Arabs, the chief garments being a long and ample shirt, and an outer goombaz or caftan, of coarse white cotton cloth. The girdle of the waist was of thick leather, tightly buckled on. On the head, instead of the kaffeah, was worn a small red tarboosh, bound round by a thin blue cotton handkerchief. They wore also a white cloak of coarse and open serge, which, being thrown over their head and shoulders, sheltered them from the sun in the heat of the day, and served for a sufficient covering at night, in a climate where we had yet found no dews, and where the atmosphere after sun-set was mild and agreeable in the extreme. Their arms were merely a sword and shield. The sword was slung by a belt, depending from the broad zennaar, or girdle, with its edge downwards, in the

European fashion, and not with the curve of the blade turned upwards, after the manner of the Arabs and Turks. The shield was formed of a semi-globular piece of brass, with carved devices in the centre; and this surrounded by a broad fringe of black silk, which waved in the air, the outer part being made of a close basket-work of coloured reeds, and the whole forming a handsome appendage to the wearer.

As these Koords walked beside our caravan, singing and driving their cattle before them, with their shields slung over their shoulders, their loose robes and light cloaks blown out by the storm, and thus trudging along, with their naked and brawny legs covered about the ancle only with sandals of thongs, they formed an interesting group, and in the hands of a skilful artist would have furnished an admirable subject for a picture of costume.

The people whom we saw in the village were not all dressed and armed in the manner of these herdsmen; their costume more resembling that of the common cultivators of the country. I remarked no peculiarity of countenance which could be called general among them, except that their faces were

rounder and fuller of flesh than those of the Arabs, and they had neither the long straight features nor the thick furrowed neck of the Turkish peasantry. Their complexions were in general dark, their hair and eyes of a jet black, and their forms robust and well-proportioned. Such of the women as we saw were unveiled, clean, and well-dressed, sunburnt, yet of a ruddy colour, and many of them pretty; while their children were in better order than is ever witnessed among Arabs in the same class of life. The passion of the men for arms is not greater, it is said, than the passion of the women for pleasure; and, as far as the modes of life they follow will admit of it, each sex indulges its peculiar propensities.*

* Lord Bacon had before remarked the generally contemporaneous existence of the passions for arms and love in the *same* sex; when he said, "I know not how, but martial men are given to love. I think it is but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be repaid with pleasures." But where this latter passion exists in men, it is sure of reciprocity in women; and the following interesting anecdote, from M. Rousseau's Memoir, to which a number of equally romantic ones from other accredited sources might be added, if necessary, will shew the character of the events, and the force of the passions that give

The close of our journey among these villages was through fine corn-lands on each side, from which the people were now gathering in the harvest; and it furnished us an opportunity of seeing, that thickly as the soil was covered with large masses of basaltic rock, this formed no obstacle to its fertility; for the

rise to them, even in these rude classes of unpolished, but not unfeeling, society:—

"Plus haut que Samerra, on voit un vieux bâtiment, en face duquel, sur la rive opposée, en est un autre presque de la même forme et non moins remarquable par sa vétusté; tous deux sont compris sous la dénomination commune d'*Ascheck-maschouk*, ce qui veut dire les *Deux Amans*. Les habitans du pays racontent à ce sujet l'histoire suivante, qui a beaucoup d'analogie avec celle de Héro et Léandre.

"La fille d'un des pontifes Arabes aimoit un jeune homme des mieux faits, qui de son côté brûloit pour elle d'une ardente passion, sans avoir pourtant l'espérance de pouvoir l'épouser: car il étoit d'une naissance vulgaire, qui mettoit un obstacle à son bonheur. La princesse, douée d'un esprit fécond en expédiens, et dressée au manège de la galanterie, obtint de son père la permission de faire bâtir sur les bords du Tigre deux maison de plaisance; et lorsque, sous prétexte de changer d'air et de jouir des agrémens de la campagne, elle alloit habiter l'un ou l'autre de ces lieux, elle faisoit prévenir secrètement son amant, qui à la faveur de l'obscurité de la nuit traversoit le fleuve à la nage, pour aller jouir avec elle, loin de tout soupçon et de blâme, des plaisirs de l'amour."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 83, 84.

wide tracts seen beyond the edges of the space, quite cleared by the reapers, seemed one unbroken sea of waving corn.

About an hour before our halt, in crossing the dry bed of a torrent, we suddenly lost all appearance of the basaltic masses and loose brown mould over which they were spread, and came upon a hard light-yellow clayey ground, with small fragments of white limestone imbedded in it; and here, instead of the full-eared corn, or the high rich grass, which had before bordered our way, were only a few thick-leaved and prickly plants, with bitter weeds sparingly scattered over it, furnishing nothing more than a scanty supply of food for camels.

On passing suddenly into this, it was said, that we had now again come into the "Burreah," or "open land;" so that the idea of an uncultivated or a desert tract is implied by that term. The range of Jebel Mardin, now only three or four miles off on our left, was composed of a white stone throughout, and the horizontal form of its layers was distinctly visible in the cliffy parts of the summit, long before we quitted the black stone on the plain; so that this sudden and immediate

change of the soil did not correspond with any similar change in the material of the mountain, from the foot of which it spreads itself out.

The place of our encampment was at the base of an isolated eminence in the plain; but as the storm still continued, we could not erect our tents, so that we were doubly oppressed during the afternoon by the violent heat of the sun, which raised the thermometer to 102° in the shade, and by the force of the wind, which filled the atmosphere with dust, so as to render objects quite obscure at the distance of even twenty yards from the observer.

At night, the violence of the storm abated, and opened to us again a serene and brilliant sky. Guards were now regularly set over the different parts of our camp, and even those who slept, lay down upon the chains by which their horses were fastened to the ground. I had myself an hour's watch assigned to me, among those of our own party; but the degree of vigilance necessary on this occasion seemed to have been much overrated, for, notwithstanding that we had Koord villages on all sides of us, the inhabitants of some of which had

come in the afternoon to sell us grain for our horses, with milk, butter, and fruits, for our own use, no discovery was made of a single intruder upon our tranquillity during the whole of the night.

June 22nd.—As we hoped to reach Mardin to-day, we set out before there was any other light than that of the stars to guide us. At day-break we were again upon cultivated land, with a fine brown soil, unmixed with stones of any kind. The greater portion of it was laid out in corn, now in the act of being reaped, and the rest in plantations of water-melons, recently put into the ground, and placed in lines of great regularity.

It was soon after sun-rise that we passed some fields which had been suffered to lie fallow since the last harvest, in which was a profusion of small flowers resembling the common daisy in form and size, but being, within and without, of a bright yellow colour, and having the thick yellow tuft in the centre of a larger size. This was called, in Arabic, "Werd el Shems," or the "Flower of the Sun," and was said to turn always to that luminary, whether rising, setting, or on the me-

ridian. I regretted that we were not here an hour earlier, to see if there was any perceptible motion in these flowers at sun-rise; it is certain, however, that, among the whole of them, every one now turned his golden cup towards the God of Day, as if to drink in more fully the principle of life and nourishment from his invigorating beams.

We soon reached the town of Koach Hassār, seen by us, from the level nature of the road, and from some tall minarets which rose from amidst it, ever since the noon of yesterday. This place had been evidently once of greater consequence than at present, judging from some fine Arabic ruins which it contained.

The principal of these was part of a large mosque covered by a central dome of good brick-work, as well executed as the vaulted roofs of the Romans, and of the same materials. The exterior of the northern front presented three fine pointed-arched doorways, highly ornamented, the central one of which was equal in beauty to the celebrated door-way near the Ezbekeeah in Cairo, or to the fine gateway of the principal caravanserai in Damascus, and greatly superior to any thing

of the same kind that I had seen in Aleppo. Between these doors were perpendicular chains of a large size, well sculptured in high relief, and crowned by a richly ornamental device. The mosque itself had been surrounded by a court and outer wall, which was strengthened by buttresses, and from the north-east angle of this arose a lofty minaret of a square shape, from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height. It was similar in form, equal in elevation, and superior in execution, to that of the great mosque at Aleppo. Its sides were divided into storys, each of which was ornamented by sculptured arches and other devices in relief; and, in a wide band near the centre, running round the whole of the building, was an Arabic inscription of well-formed letters, in high preservation, but which I could prevail on no one to stop to read. It was, upon the whole, one of the finest fragments of Arabic architecture and sculpture that I remember any where to have seen.

Beside this ruined mosque, were the minarets of two others, little inferior in size to the first, and each also of a square form. One of these

only was crowned on the top by a small cupola in the centre of the square, but this was scarcely perceptible at a short distance off.

The present town of Koach Hassār may contain about five thousand dwellings, all of a humble kind, and low and flat-roofed. The inhabitants sleep either on their terraces, or on raised benches of hardened earth before the doors, in the open air. The population is chiefly Christian, and those of the Armenian church; there being only a few Syrians, and still fewer Mohammedan residents.

At a short distance from Koach Hassār we crossed a small stream of good water, and in a little more than an hour beyond it came to the village of Soor, where our party made a halt, while the rest of the caravan pursued its way to Mardin, the ultimate place of their destination.

The ascent to that city is over so steep a hill, that goods merely passing by it on their route to other places are never carried up there, nor is it thought that laden camels could at all ascend to it.* The merchandize of the

* M. Rousseau says, "Il n'y a de chemins pour entrer dans Mardin, que quelques mauvais sentiers raboteux, où les chevaux les plus vigoureux ne se trainent qu'avec peine." p. 95.

Hadjee was therefore lodged at Soor, in the warehouse of a general receiver, who was also the officer of the government for the collection of the custom-dues on transit, amounting to two and a half per cent.

I was at first at a loss to understand why we had halted here at all, since the Hadjee had no business to transact at Mardin, and the bare act of touching there for an hour was attended by such a demand; but there were ample reasons for his so doing. The chief of these was, that the state of the roads is so uncertain on this edge of the Desert, as to make it important to obtain the most correct information respecting them, because the going by any one particular route of the many which lead from here to Mousul, or the setting out a day too early or a day too late, might be attended with the loss of all the property embarked. Another reason was, that if he omitted to halt and pay the accustomed duty of transit on this occasion, he would be sure of being burdened with some arbitrary and heavy contribution, if he should ever again pass this way during the reign of the present governor, for having, as he would say,

on a former occasion, defrauded him of his acknowledged dues.

The village of Soor appears to contain about two thousand dwellings of the same kind as those at Koach Hassār, and the inhabitants here are all Christians, partly Syrian and partly Armenian, each sect having its respective church. They wear the white cloak and the dress and arms of the Koords, and though most of them speak Arabic, the Koordi, which bears no resemblance to either this or Turkish, is the language in common use among them.

CHAPTER IX.

ENTRY INTO, AND STAY AT, MARDIN.

JUNE 22nd.—Having been entertained at Soor with an abundant meal, and passed away the oppressive heat of the day in sleep, we set out from this village on our way to Mardin, leaving all the merchandize behind us, and suffering the camels to feed and repose on the plain. We were about an hour in getting to the foot of the hill, on a course of nearly north, and found, close to its very base, a rich brown soil, laid out in corn-lands, and yielding an abundant harvest.

A great portion of the ground that we had traversed on our journey from Orfah, or, as it is called here, Rahah, to Mardin, resembled, in many of its features, the plains of the Haurān; more particularly in the general aspect of its surface, the quality of its soil,

CHAPTER IX.

APPROACH TO MARDIN, A CITY SEATED ON A ROCK.

and the nature of the rock scattered over it. As both these tracts are equally fertile, and abundantly supplied with water, they are likely to have been equally well peopled in those days of antiquity of which the Mosaic history treats; when the land of the Chaldeans and the plains of Mesopotamia were as celebrated as the land of Canaan. A neighbouring desert, such as that on the south of this, inhabited no doubt in the earliest ages by a race of needy wanderers like the Bedouins of the present day, existed also on the eastern edge of the Haurān, beyond the stony district of Lejah, and the rising land of the Druses there.

The same mode of constructing their habitations is likely to have prevailed among the occupiers of each of these tracts, and from the same cause; for in each there is scarcely a tree to be seen throughout their extent, and not sufficient brush-wood even for fuel, the dung of animals being used by the inhabitants of both for that purpose. Stone was, therefore, the only material that presented itself for the construction of such buildings as were suitable to a civilized people, or calculated for durability; and either loose earth for brick-built

huts, or the hair of flocks for tents suited to wandering cultivators and shepherds, such as are used by the people of these districts at the present day.

These considerations suggested the question of "Whence is it that the Haurān is full of the ruins of stone-built dwellings, which may be assigned to a very high antiquity, while Chaldea and Mesopotamia, equally celebrated in the same remote age, and traditionally considered to be the Paradise inhabited by the first parents of mankind, shew not a vestige of such buildings, even in those parts, which, from the features of resemblance between them and the Haurān, already enumerated, were equally calculated to produce them?"

The difficulty of answering this satisfactorily, inclined me to believe, that in both these countries, as well as in the equally ancient and woodless land of Egypt, earth dried in the sun was the only material used in the construction of *private* dwellings, at least, and tents of hair or wool for the herdsmen and peasantry. This would account, in a great measure, for the existence of such unbaked brick buildings in Egypt, where all classes of its inhabitants were necessarily in-

cluded in a narrow space, in consequence of the Desert hemming them in on both sides, and confining them to the banks of their river; while in the greater part of the Hurān and the open country of Mesopotamia, chiefly peopled by cultivators and shepherds, and having fewer large towns, the dwellings of the people were principally in tents, and therefore no vestige of very early buildings would be found in them.

The conclusion suggested by this is, that the numerous ruins of stone-edifices in the Haurān are all of them the remains of *Roman* works, and mount no higher than the age in which Syria and Palestine were colonies of that vast empire. It is true, there is a marked difference in the style of many of these edifices: some of the best, such as the temples, theatres, and castles, resembling the Roman works of the west, while the small square towers, and private dwellings, have a different description of masonry, peculiar to the Haurān itself. It may be supposed indeed, that as the towers were sepulchral, like similar ones at Palmyra, and the dwellings those of private settlers in the country, the pure Roman style might have been con-

fined to the great national buildings; and the mixed and often capricious orders of masonry and decoration, seen in the rest, have been the work of private individuals, who followed the bent of their own fancy, when architectur began to decline, and the standard of fixed rules and just proportions to be accordingly disregarded.

The Romans, among whom architecture was pursued with a passion, rather than cultivated merely as an art calculated to increase the security and augment the comforts of man, arriving in a country, the conquered subjects of which were their slaves, and where the best materials for building presented themselves abundantly at hand, would naturally apply these resources to the indulgence of their favourite pursuit; and hence it has happened, that in Syria there are more remains of Roman architecture than are to be found in an equally small space in any other part of their extended empire, or indeed in any other portion of the globe,—India, Greece, Italy, and even Egypt, not excepted.

We began to ascend the hill on which Mardin is seated, and had a steep and rugged road before us, which we were a full hour in accom-

plishing, passing in the way a well of good water, some fragments of an old paved road, and some parts where the path had been cut down through the solid rock—all now in a most neglected state, and greatly in want of repair.*

On my departure from Aleppo, I had been furnished with a letter for the Syrian Patriarch of Mardin; and learning from some Christian passengers on the road that he was not in town, but at his Convent of Deer Zafferany, a short ride from this place, I parted from the Hadjee, and proceeded thither with a guide. In our way towards the convent, which lay to the eastward of the city, we passed some deep valleys on our right, where, in cliffs of the bare lime-stone rock, were seen a considerable number of excavated grottoes—without doubt, ancient tombs. In different parts of the mountain were not less than a

* "*Mardin*, dont la latitude est de 36° 14′ N., et la longitude de 37° 35′ E., se trouve à l'extrémité du Pachalik de Bagdad, et lui sert de bornes du côté du nord. Cette ville, située sur une haute montagne, a un château bien fortifié, et des maisons bâties en pierres, qui s'élèvent en amphithéâtre les unes au dessus des autres, le long d'une pente extrêmement roide et hérissée de rochers."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 94.

hundred of these, and among them I saw the fragment of a plain sarcophagus. The whole, however, were so evidently sepulchral, and so like the many others with which the East abounds, that, as at Orfah, I had really no desire to visit them for the purpose of more minute examination.

In our way we passed also several fountains of pure and excellent water, and some agreeable spots, where large and full-foliaged trees yielded a refreshing coolness in the air of their rustling boughs, and a welcome shelter from the heat of the sun. In two of these we saw parties of Turkish women, enjoying the delights of the shady retreat. A small village, inhabited chiefly by Christians, lay in our way, in which were gardens, vine-grounds, and a number of pomegranate trees now in full bloom.

On our arrival at the convent, my letter procured me a favourable reception from the Patriarch, who was a handsome and polite young man, and had been advanced unusually early to the dignity he enjoyed, as he was but little beyond thirty years of age. Our evening was passed in a large party, consisting chiefly of pilgrims belonging to Mardin, who

had returned from Jerusalem, and had come from Aleppo in our own caravan. The supper served to them consisted of the choicest dishes; and not less than twenty jars of arrack were drank by about as many persons,—all of them, too, before the meal, as a stimulant, and not a single cup after it. The party was continued until a late hour, and our enjoyment was then terminated by the delicious luxury of clean linen and a clean bed.

June 23rd.—It being Sunday, I attended the morning service of the church, with the rest of my companions, where every one stood for about four hours in succession, without even the indulgence of the crutches in use among the Christians of the Greek communion. The service was performed by the Patriarch in person, very splendidly dressed in robes of gold-embroidered satin, and waited on by the inferior priests in garments of corresponding splendour. As every thing was read and sung in the Syriac language, except the exhortation to the people, which was delivered to them in their native tongue, the service was unintelligible, not only to me, but to almost all the congregation.

The ceremonies resembled those of the Catholic church; but one of them was inferior in solemnity, and produced almost a ludicrous effect. While the Patriarch, most sumptuously clad, officiated before a rich altar, loaded with gold, silver, and a glare of lights, there stood behind himself and the congregation a grown lad, dressed in the big breeches, or sherwal, of the Turks, with a coarse jacket, patched with many colours, after the fashion of Romelia, and a large overhanging tarboosh covering his shoulders. This lad leant on the crosier of the Patriarch with one hand, and perfumed his holiness by an incense pot which he held in the other, at the same time that he sung the responses alone in a voice of the loudest and harshest kind. On each side of him were other lads, equally as unfitly robed for the dignity of the offices they performed, and contributing rather to the noise of the service than to its solemnity. As all the offices of the priesthood were performed in a deep recess, entered by folding-doors, a curtain was drawn across the opening when any thing like a shifting of scenes was required, in order to prevent the audience from seeing

what was going on behind, and thus to preserve the necessary stage-effect.

During the elevation of the host, all the people uttered loud groans, the boys within screamed most vociferously, so as to drown entirely the voices of the priests, and all this confusion of tongues was still further increased by one behind the scenes, clashing a pair of brazen cymbals, and so shaking them after the first concussion, as to resemble the reverberated rattlings of loud thunder.

When the service was ended, the pilgrims were called forth, and all of them having their heads bared, were invested in succession with a robe of one of the officiating priests. A cross was then placed in the right hand, and a taper in the left of each, and all the congregation, except the female part, who stood aloof at a respectful distance, walked before them uncovered. They first encompassed the altar, kissing the curtains, the book, the candlesticks, &c. as they passed; and then kissed the cross in the hand of each of the pilgrims, beginning with the eldest, an old man of eighty, and ending with the youngest, a boy apparently not more than ten years of age.

This convent of Deer Zafferany enjoys an agreeable and healthy situation, being seated on the side of a hill, with high rocky cliffs, pierced with ancient tombs, behind it, and commanding an extensive view of the southern plain to Jebel Sinjār, and the edge of the great Southern Desert.

The church itself appears to have been a work of the lower empire, perhaps of the Empress Helena, the great founder of religious establishments all over the East. Its order is an overloaded and corrupt Corinthian, of which the arches and pilasters of recesses, facing each other in the form of a Greek cross, still remain perfect; but in the part now used as the church, no columns appear ever to have been placed. The doors of entrance, the windows, and a portion of an exterior frieze, are all of the same kind; but the building has evidently undergone so many repairs, that the original work is now much less in quantity than that which has been since added.

The convent consists of a central square court, with domestic offices around it; above which are the chambers of the priests, furnished with carpets and cushions after the

manner of the country; the whole is encompassed by a high stone wall, and is secured with a small door of entrance, faced with iron plates, and carefully guarded.

The establishment consists of a patriarch, six matrāns, and twelve catzees, for these are the titles they bear. The former, though only thirty years of age, neither tastes flesh, wine, spirits, nor tobacco, neither can he marry. The second class, or the matrāns, fast every Wednesday and Friday only, then abstaining from flesh, butter, milk, and eggs; but even on these days, they eat fish when it is to be had; though, during the forty days in Lent, this is forbidden to them. These are permitted to marry one wife; but, if she dies, the husband cannot take another. The last class, or the catzees, fast on Fridays only, and may take fish during the Lent; they also are permitted to marry, and on the death of their first wife they may take a second, provided she be a virgin.

The duties of these men consist in the performance of their church-service, seven times in the day: that is, at day-break, at three hours after sun-rise, at noon, at El Assr, about three o'clock; at Muggrib, or sun-set;

at three hours after sun-set, and at midnight; the due performance of which, as the services are of long duration, scarcely leaves them time for food and sleep.

The families of all these live in the convent; and on Sundays, and days of festivity, crowds of female visitors and their children come here to divert themselves, free from the more rigid observation of the town. There were here, on this Sabbath, no less than fifty women, who were all unveiled, and as full of frolic and gaiety as young girls of fifteen. They were occupied throughout the day in going from one part of the convent to the other, and in freely indulging themselves in every liberty allowed them. The Deer, or Convent, seemed to be exactly to the Christian females what the bath is to the Turkish ones: a place of recreation, free from the fetters of their husbands, rather than for the performance of religious or devotional duties.

Among the books I saw here, was a copy of the Gospels in the Syriac language, admirably written in large and beautiful characters on a fine and stout parchment. The portraits of the Evangelists and the heads of chapters were painted in rich body-colours, and highly

illuminated. The date at the end of it shewed it to have been written in the year of Christ 1150, at the Convent of Deer Zafferany; and as it had Greek marginal notes, evidently as old as the book itself, it might be inferred that the priests then here were of that communion. It formed a volume of a larger size than the largest of our church-bibles, and was highly valued by the Patriarch and his flock.*

The two highest orders of the Priesthood have circular, dome-like turbans, of the same shape as those worn by the Ulema of the Turks, resembling in size and shape a large water-melon. The Turks wear them of white muslin; but the Christians commonly have them of the same material in blue. All the Christians subject to the Turkish government are prohibited from wearing any but dark colours, and the boots and shoes of the clergy must be absolutely black, while red is

* This was, probably, one of the bibles shewn to Tavernier in 1644, as it agrees with the description of them given by him, except when he says, that they were written in Chaldaic, in which it is possible for him to have been mistaken.—See the *Voyages of Tavernier*, London, 1678, folio, c. iv. p. 69.

permitted to the laity, though yellow can on no account be worn by either; and green in the turban is even prohibited to all Moslems, except the immediate descendants of the Prophet, or Shereefs. At the same time that these restrictions exist in full force, Christians are permitted to ride on horseback, a favour which, in the days of the Mamlouks, was not granted even to the Franks in Egypt; and, at Mardin, the Patriarch's having a green bridle and martingale gives no offence, though even now, in Damascus, such an invasion of the privileges of a true Mohammedan would probably cost an infidel his life.

I was here assured, by persons who had travelled over the greater part of the Turkish empire, that nothing could be more variable than the rules for these restrictions, as to colours, in the different cities of Asia Minor. At Mardin, Christians give the salute of "Salām Alaikom," and receive its answer, even from Shereefs; in other places, this would be deemed the highest possible outrage. In some towns, the turban is the only part of the dress in which particular colours may not be used; in others, the boots only; while, in some, again, every garment has its specified

shade. In many places, the colours of the dress are not at all regarded, and even green may be worn; but a horse or an ass cannot be mounted, nor can the salute of peace be exchanged between a Mohammedan and a Christian, of any class or sect.

In the evening we quitted the Convent of Deer Zafferāny, and returned to Mardin, approaching the town on its eastern side, and, just before sun-set, reaching the residence of the Patriarch.

On entering this, we had to salute a venerable old Matrān, now one hundred and two years of age, with a long beard of silvery white, possessing all his mental faculties in full perfection, and reading even letters and other writings without the aid of glasses. A large party were assembled here also, but not of pilgrims; they were all residents of the town, and the purport of their meeting was an interesting one, it being the prelude to a marriage intended to be consummated to-night.

It was the custom of this place, half a century ago, to celebrate the marriages of the Christians in their churches, and to perform the festivities as openly as they wished; but repeated insults and interruptions, offered to

them by the Turks, occasioned this to be discontinued. The practice now is, when an espousal has been contracted between the parties, and the day of marriage fixed, for the bride to be prepared at her own house in the morning. The friends of both parties then assemble at the house of the priest, and break bread together before him, which is received as a confirmation of their intentions, and at midnight, the bride being taken to her future lord's house, the marriage is solemnized by a union of hands in prayer. Festivities follow, in proportion to the wealth of the parties; but these seldom end, even with the poorest, before the expiration of three days.

It was this breaking of bread that had called the evening party, in which I found myself, together. Three large flat loaves, made in the convent, and bearing upon them the holy seal, were placed on a salver, covered with an embroidered cloth, and on them was laid a gilded paper full of fine white sugar. The Patriarch, holding the jewelled cross, which he constantly carries with him, in his right hand, waved it over the bread, and gave it his blessing. All then crossed themselves, and the bread being broken by one of the party, a

morsel of it was given, with a still smaller portion of sugar, to each of the witnesses. On this being ended, a Syrian hymn was sung, in which the chorus of "Halleluia" was frequently heard, and the air was lively and well adapted to the occasion. After this, copious draughts of arrack, without which no meeting of friendship or of joy can be complete among the Christians of the East, was distributed to all, and they departed in peace, according to the word.

At night we slept on a wooden stage in the open air, after the usual manner of the inhabitants; but it was exceedingly cold, and a heavy shower of rain falling, occasioned us some annoyance. The climate, however, is so pure and healthy, that though we were well wetted, and lay afterwards on the damp beds, no one seemed even to apprehend the least evil consequences.

June 24th.—On inquiring after our caravan, in order to learn the probable time of its departure, the usual answer of "Bokera, an ish Allah!" or, "To-morrow, if it please God!" was returned; but, on more minute examination, it appeared probable that its deten-

tion here would extend to a week at least. The roads were so bad, from being infested with robbers, that all the caravans for Mousul had, within the last three months, gone round by way of El Jezeeret, a large town on the Tigris, between Mousul and Diarbekr, and five days' journey in an east-south-east direction from hence. There were neither Tartars* nor caravans here for Bagdad at the present moment, nor were there any soon likely to be formed. As Diarbekr, from being the seat of government and the chief central town in the passage from Constantinople to Bagdad, has generally Tartars in waiting there, I determined to set out for that place, having been furnished with an order from Mr. Barker of Aleppo, directing any English Tartar I might meet with on the way to take me to my destination.

It was late in the day before this determination was taken; and then it was with inconceivable difficulty that I could find a companion or guide to go with me thus far, so that the whole day was occupied in this pursuit.

* The Turkish and Arabic pronunciation of this word is the same, both omitting the first *r* used by us in Tārtar, and both spelling and pronouncing it Tatār.

We had engaged to set out in the evening before sun-set, and to travel during the night, as the road from hence to Diarbekr was said to be so well frequented as to be considered safe at all hours. My guide, however, who had part of the money agreed to be given him already paid in advance, did not make his appearance at the appointed hour, and the journey was therefore delayed until the morrow's dawn. This left me a leisure evening, which I devoted to recording the following observations made on this place, during our stay here.

Mardin is, according to some authors, the ancient Marde, or Miride, of which little is known except the name. Its position is most erroneously given in the "Bibliothèque Orientale," where it is called a Town of Mesopotamia, situated on the banks of the Tigris, between Mousul and Bagdad.* We learn from the same work, however, some particulars of its history which are more accurate. The town itself was taken and plundered by Tamerlane, in the year of the Hejira 796, but its castle was then suffi-

* Vol. ii. p. 563. 4to.

ciently strong to sustain a long siege from the same army, and to oblige them indeed at one time to raise it. This conqueror, however, rendered himself at last the master both of the town and the citadel, and made prisoner the Sultan El Mālek el Dhaher, who commanded there; though, according to the report of Ibn Arabshah, he afterwards gave him his liberty. Hulākou, the grandson of Jenghiz-Khan, who, in the partition of the Mogul empire, was charged with the government of Persia, attacked Mardin about the middle of the fourteenth century, but without success, according to the report of Assemani. But Osman Beg, who has given the name of Osmanlies to the present Turks, made himself master of this place during his reign, which ended A. D. 1326, after a period of twenty years.* In the early travels of De Haiton, this place is noted under the name of Meradin, and it was then said to be peopled by a race of Sarazins, who were good arbelêtriers, or cross-bow-men, and were called, in the language of the country, Cordinis, or perhaps Curds.† It has also pro-

* D'Anville, sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 53. 4to.

† Travels of De Haiton, in Bergeron's Collection.

duced many Mohammedan authors, who have been called, from this place of their birth, Mardini, in addition to their usual names;* and it is equally known as the place where was born the Lady Maani Gwerida, the first wife of Pietro della Valle, so well known by his Travels.†

Mardin is seated near the top of a high hill, about the centre of a long range, bearing the same name. Tradition says, that some centuries ago, a Koord of the plains erected his dwelling here, for security against the intrusion of his neighbours. Some women, who were searching among these hills after the strayed sheep of their flocks, happening to arrive at the place of his abode, were struck with surprise at the motive which could have induced any man to retire to a spot so difficult of access; and in a conversation with him on this subject, called him "Mare-deen," which is translated from the Koordi into the Arabic, by the words "Rajul-majnoon," or, as we should say in English, "a mad-man." "Since you think so then," he replied, "I shall disclose

* Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 563.

† Voyages of Tavernier, c. iv. p. 69. folio, London, 1678.

to you that the advantages of my position will soon be so highly envied, that a city will rise around me, and the compliment which you have bestowed on my choice shall be its name ; for I will henceforth call my own, the only dwelling yet here, " Khallet-el-Mare-deen," or the " Madman's Castle."*

The summits of almost all these hills have a large mass of lime-stone rock, the material of which they are composed, broken into cliffs for a short depth from their summits, and from

* " Josaphat Barbano, who had performed a journey to the Crimea and several parts of Muscovy and Tartary, (towards the close of the fifteenth century,) was selected, (by the States of Venice,) as one accustomed ' to endure and deal with barbarous men,' for the mission to Persia. He landed at Cencho, (Cenco,) in Caramania, where, passing through Tarsus and Adama, he directed his route to the Euphrates. He notices nothing remarkable till he crossed that river, and arrived at Orfah. His next stage was Mardin, which appeared to him to be *the most extraordinary city in the world for situation.* It is ascended by a stair cut in the rock, more than a mile high, at the top of which is the gate ; but there is no wall except the walls of the houses, the defence of the place being trusted solely to its inaccessible site. The Turks hyperbolically assert, *that the inhabitants never see a bird flying above them.* It contains three hundred houses, and several manufactures of silk and cotton."—*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 10.

thence the soil forms a steep but smooth descent, so that the square masses thus left on their tops look at a distance like so many elevated fortresses.

Advantage has been taken of this, in constructing the Castle of Mardin, which is simply a wall raised up from the perpendicular cliff all round, and is thus exceedingly difficult of access. It appears, from below, to be a Mohammedan work, and it is more formidable from its natural situation, than strong from artificial means of defence. There are but few cannon there, and about fifty soldiers, forming the personal guard of the Motesēllem, who resides there himself, and who permits the families of all those in his immediate service to dwell within the citadel.

The town of Mardin is built chiefly on the eastern and southern sides of this hill, below the castle, and is surrounded by a wall leading down from it on two sides, and going along in front of the town below. The whole circuit, including the castle, may be little more than two miles; and the figure formed by it is necessarily irregular, from the nature of the ground on which it stands.

The houses are placed in ranges above

each other, like the seats of a Roman theatre; and the streets, which run along the side of the hill, are, for the same reason, so many successive terraces or causeways; while the smaller lateral intersections of these are literally flights of steps, like similar cross streets at Malta. The houses are built of stone, though but few are of good masonry; they are generally small, and without ornament. The terraces are all flat; and in the paved courts of the upper storys are large wooden stages railed around, serving for evening supper-parties, or for sleeping on at night, during the summer months.

There are eight mosques here, five of which are very small and inconsiderable, and only one of the remaining three is large. Among these, however, I saw in the doors and windows some specimens of Arabic stone-work, as rich and chaste as any thing I had yet seen in that style. The minaret of the Great Mosque is also a fine one: it consists of a circular shaft, raised on a square base, on each front of which is a large pointed arch; the shaft itself is then ornamented on the exterior by sculptured arches and other devices, in separate compartments from the base upwards, when an open

stone-work gallery and a pointed top terminates the whole.

In the dome of this, as well as of the other principal mosques, a striking peculiarity is observed in their being ribbed or guttered in their masonry from the summit downwards, like rays spreading from a common centre. These furrows are not round in the sunken part, and flat in the raised, as in the flutings of Corinthian columns, but are all sharp and angular, the raised parts being so thick at the base, that their lower edges only leave the smallest space between them, and their upper ones come away to a sharp edge, forming a succession of trilateral ribs. It is said here, that the Great Mosque was once a Christian church; its exterior, however, presents no such appearance, but its interior I had no opportunity of examining with safety.

There are three baths, each of which are said to be badly attended, and scantily supplied with water, though one of them bears the title of Hammām el Ameer, or the Prince's Bath. Neither the coffee-houses nor other places of recreation are so abundant here as they are generally found to be in Turkish

towns, and those few which are seen are but poorly furnished and thinly attended.

The only caravanserai which I saw was small, and this was said to be the best of them. The bazārs, though tolerably numerous, and vaulted over by arched roofs in the usual way, are very narrow, and barely supplied with even the necessary articles of consumption for the town; all which deficiencies are attributed to the general poverty of the inhabitants, and to the want of trade, for which the situation of this place is unfavourable.

The population is thought to amount to twenty thousand, of which, two-thirds at least are Mohammedans, the remainder are composed of Christians and Jews. Of the Syrians, there are reckoned two thousand houses, of the Armenians five hundred, of the Armenian Catholics one thousand, of the Chaldeans or Nestorians three hundred, and of the Jews four hundred. Each of these have their respective churches and priests, and the Syrians have two churches in town, and two convents a little way out of it, beside many churches in the neighbouring villages.

The Syrians differ from the other sects of Christians, in believing the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father only, and not from the Son, and in paying even higher adoration to the Virgin Mary than either the Greeks or the Catholics. They do not acknowledge the authority of the Pope, not scrupling to call him an impostor; and their chronology makes five thousand five hundred years between the creation of the world and the coming of the Messiah.

There is, besides, another religious sect inhabiting here, called Shemseeah. These, as their name implies, are thought to be worshippers of the sun, which they have been seen to reverence at his rising, by taking off their turbans. When Sultan Murad came this way, and found by their own confession that they were not "people of the Book," that is, neither Jews, Christians, nor Mohammedans, he ordered them all to be put to the sword. The Syrian Patriarch of that day took them, however, under his protection, by owning them as part of his flock, and they have been, politically, so considered ever since, though, as a religious sect, they are quite distinct, both in belief and practice.

The same Patriarch, after an intimacy of many years with some of the heads of these people, could never obtain from them any disclosure on the subject of their religion, as they all agreed, that death from the hands of their fellows would be the penalty of such a crime. The details given of this people by Niebuhr are acknowledged to be only from vague report; for he confesses, with all others who have spoken of them, that nothing positive could be learnt either of their opnions or their ceremonies.* This was nearly the same case with myself. The particulars related to that traveller were also repeated to me; and the number of the Shemseeahs was stated to be now about one thousand families; but every one admitted that the greatest care was taken by them to prevent the disclosure of their real tenets.

All these different sects of Christians are looked on by the Turks in nearly the same light, being considered in the mass as infidels; and as they are all heavily taxed for their heresies, their equal contributions to the treasury of the governor makes him indifferent

* Voyage en Arabie, vol. ii. p. 321.

to the distinctions which exist among themselves. This place was formerly governed by a Waiwode, dependant on the Pasha of Diarbekr. The title of the present is that of Motesēllem, an he is a dependant of the Pasha of Bagdad. The details given to me of the government of this place were precisely the same as those related to Niebuhr; and though its resources are lessening rather than increasing, the same despotism is exercised as in all other Turkish posts, to exhaust those sources of wealth rather than to improve them.

The dress of the merchants is light and gay, but the lower orders are more coarsely and plainly clad than in most other places. It may be remarked, as one of the caprices of fashion, that while at Orfah, where the heat is great, it is usual for all ranks of people to wear a heavy woollen abba over their other garments; here, where every house has a chimney for fire in the winter, and where the summer even is cool and temperate, it is the custom to wear the smallest possible quantity of clothes, and the heaviest garment known among them is a jubbe or benish of Angora shalloon.

The women, both Moslem and Christian, cover themselves with the blue chequered cloth used in Egypt, which gives a general air of meanness to the whole dress. The former of these content themselves with covering the mouth only, and the latter go entirely unveiled. Among them I saw but few that were handsome, though all had fine complexions; and it was here that I first noticed the nose-ring among the female ornaments, as marking an approach to more Eastern modes of adorning.

All the boys, and many grown young men, wear ear-rings; though most of them content themselves with one of a large size in the right ear. The eruption in the face is seen here, in about the same degree as at Aleppo, though less so than at Orfah; and it would thus seem to be the effect of some cause not locally confined to a small space, at least.

At sun-set, I received a message from the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, requesting my attendance at a supper-party, given to him by his friends, in the open court of a large house. Our entertainment was really bountiful, and it was followed by a dessert of choice fruits, the produce of the neighbouring gardens.

I departed from them, with many kind expressions of regret at this sudden separation, and a thousand wishes for an agreeable journey and a safe and speedy return.

CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY FROM MARDIN TO DIARBEKR.

JUNE 25th.—Had my guide appeared at the appointed hour, it would have been worthy of remark, as a singular instance of Eastern punctuality; but it was high noon before he came, and then other causes delayed us still longer.

This man, whose name was Hussein, was one of the most notorious robbers among the Koord horsemen belonging to the different independent chiefs in this neighbourhood; and, by some of those who exercised their kind offices for me in the affair of engaging him for the journey, he was chosen as the safest passport I could have through my intended route; though, by others, it was prophesied, as certain, either that he would pilfer me, under the pretence of presents due to himself, or

CHAPTER X.

WAADI ZENNAAR, OR VALLEY OF THE GIRDLE,

TRAVELLERS REPOSING.

that he would cause me to be well fleeced by others with whom he would place himself in league. The former was the confidence of the many, the latter the fears of the few. The very existence of these, however, induced us to take all possible precaution in the affair, and it was determined that I should conceal what money I had in my khomr, or girdle, and pass as an unfortunate merchant of Egypt, who had no property, but was going to Bagdad under the hope of amending my fortune.

The Patriarch and Chiefs of the convent, with their mercantile friends of the city, all approved of this measure, so that such duplicity must be common in the country, and the necessity for it very strong to induce such men to advise it. The Koord pledged himself, by all that was sacred, to protect my person from the open insult of strangers, and to die in my defence; adding, that this was the only danger to be apprehended, for, as to being pilfered, we were going the whole of the way among his friends and companions, who were men much too honourable to be guilty of such treachery.

We set out together about an hour after noon, and going to the western quarter of the

town, passed through the Bab el Room. It could be seen here, that the whole of the wall of enclosure, going from the extremities of the castle-rock around the town, was of Mohammedan work, and of the most inferior kind.

From this gate we descended over the steep side of the hill, into a broad and deep valley, drinking at a fountain in the way, and leaving on our right a small village called Allipoor, seated beneath the castle, on its northern side, amidst gardens and wild brush-wood. We went nearly north through this valley, and, ascending over its boundary-hill in that quarter, came in about two hours to a beautiful winding vale, called Waadi Zennaar, or the Valley of the Girdle. Its name was most appropriate, as it formed a narrow belt of the richest verdure, between two bare ridges of rock, and was watered by a small rivulet following the course of its centre.

Descending into this, we halted at a delicious spot, and reposed for an hour upon a carpet of green turf, beneath the shade of lofty and wide-spreading trees, in the midst of which reared some tall and stately cypresses, whose dark and thickly-interwoven foliage formed an impenetrable veil to the sun de-

clining in the west behind them. We were served here by a Pilgrim Shereef, one of Hussein's best friends, with coffee and fruits, among which were cherries and apples, equal to those of England, and produced in the Shereef's own garden.

An Indian Dervish, who had been thirteen years from his home, on a journey to Mecca, and had reached thus far on his way back again, joined us here; and, after partaking of our fare, sung both Arabic and Hindoostanee songs, to the sound of a tambour, with which he measured his time. Some of these men, I was told, spend the best half of their lives in making only one pilgrimage to the Caaba, and the city of their Prophet. We heard indeed of one who had been thirty years thus employed, and who only six months since had set out from Mardin towards Mousul.

These Pilgrims begin their pilgrimages at the age of manhood, from various parts of India, and as they carry nothing with them but their scrip and staff, and subsist entirely by charity on the way, they are often three or four years before they reach the object of their devotion, making long halts at every town they pass, and travelling always on foot.

On their return from Mecca, however, their progress is still more tardy, for being now honoured with the title of Hadjee, and highly respected as the holiest kind of Dervishes, they are well treated and well fed wherever they go. This life of indolence and good living is found by them so superior to that of their early days in India, that it is scarcely to be wondered at if they should wish to perpetuate it, by prolonging their stay in the countries in which they enjoy it. Some, therefore, end their days in their journey back. If any reach their own land again, it is that, going always farther and farther on, to keep up the pretence of moving homeward, after a length of time they find themselves getting out of the great Mohammedan world, upon the confines of their own country, where infidels and idolaters pay them no such honours as had strewed their way thus far, and they hasten to end their pilgrimage among such of their friends as are of their own faith, and such of their relatives as may be still left alive to welcome their protracted return.

On remounting our horses, we followed the course of the Waadi Zennaar to the north-west, having water, wood, and gardens, all the

way, and seeing many small red squirrels playing on the branches of the trees. It was here, that I first saw the common magpie, a bird not before remarked by me in any part of Turkey, and even here seemingly rare, as this solitary bird was the only one that appeared.

We continued to go through the valley for about an hour, when, passing over the ridge of hills that bounded it on the north, we entered into a second valley, called Waadi Bermān, equally fertile and well wooded with the former, and having in it several well-cultivated corn-fields still green, though the grain was fully formed in the ear. There were two villages, Awēna and Bermān, each consisting of about fifty dwellings of Koord families, and both under the government of an independent chief, called Tamar Aga. The situation of these was, in every respect, agreeable, and their inhabitants seemed to enjoy at once security, health, and abundance.

The residence of my companion Hussein being at Bermān, we alighted at it just as the sun was sinking behind the hills by which the villages on the west are hemmed in, and we were received, by his wife and children, with

a respect bordering on fear. A clean cotton mattress and cushions being placed for me on the terrace, my guide absented himself for some time, leaving me alone to receive those who came to pay their evening visit to the stranger; but, as not one of these spoke Arabic, and I myself did not understand the Koord tongue, we could not communicate with each other.

Hussein soon returned, however, with an invitation from his chief, Tamar Aga, to visit him. I at first declined, suspecting the extortion of a present at least; but though I strongly objected, it was insisted that it was impossible to pass without visiting the chief, and that, in short, I could not be suffered to depart without performing this necessary duty.

We accordingly waited on the Aga, and were received by him with that mixture of dignity and ease, which belongs even to the lowest classes of the Turks, who display, on all occasions, great self-command and natural politeness. The chief was surrounded by his armed followers, in all the pomp of feudal authority; and though these men would each of them use liberties in conversation with their lord, which would scarcely be tolerated

between equals among us, yet no one dared to seat himself in his presence.

As not even my guide was aware of my being an European, I was introduced to the Aga as a merchant of Aleppo going to Bagdad with the caravan now at Mardin; but who, having some affairs to transact at Diarbekr, had profited by their halt, to go up to that city, and, in a day or two, intended returning again by the same route. Our conversation was at first general, but soon turned towards the dangers of the road, and the important benefits conferred on travellers, by those whose vigilance kept the roads clear of the robbers which usually infested them. This was followed by a commission to procure certain articles from Diarbekr, in lieu of paying the usual tribute exacted from passengers who went this way; and after some ineffectual remonstrances on my part, I was obliged to yield to the demand, and to promise obedience.

In the true spirit of the people of this country, the chief first exacted an arbitrary contribution, as a tribute to his local authority, and then entertained me with all the liberality of a friend of long standing. We all supped together, from rich dishes mostly prepared for

the occasion; the house of the Aga was offered for my use, as long as I chose to remain in it, and the protection of his name or of his people for the remainder of my journey. I was glad to have the power of declining this last, however, as the price of such safeguards is often more than their value. I therefore retired to the house of my guide, that we might set out alone from thence in the morning.

We were mounted at least an hour before day-break, and went from this valley, in which we had passed the night, up over hills of limestone, which were in general steep and craggy, though their faces being covered with brushwood gave them an agreeable appearance. When the day first dawned, we were on the summit of these hills, and after continuing over uneven ground, again descended over a slope, covered, like the former, with brushwood, and reached the valley just as the sun rose.

There was here a small village, called Galleen, which was seated on the side of a hill facing towards the north, and the most conspicuous object in this was a castellated dwelling, built on the edge of a cliff, and command-

ing the whole of the plain. This was the residence of another chief, named Hassan Aga, who ruled over only a small portion of territory, but, like the one from whom we had just escaped, never failed to fleece all who were worth pillaging, whenever they passed through his possessions without a strong escort. We therefore carefully avoided going into this village, and as it was about the hour when most of the inhabitants were taking their first meal after morning prayers, it was favourable to our passing by without being observed.

Nothing could be more beautiful than the general aspect of this valley, or more romantic than the situation of the village of Galleen, at the entrance of it. The hills, by which it was hemmed in so closely on all sides, were sufficiently broken in their outline to be picturesque, and the narrow plain which skirted them at their feet was clothed with the richest verdure. Corn-fields were seen in different stages of growth, from the earliest appearance of the green blade, to the developement of the ear on the yellow stalk, and the full ripe grain of the red wheat now ready for the sickle.*

* Similar variety in the progressive states of vegetation, all seen at the same time and nearly on the same spot, is

The gardens and vineyards, occupying distant portions of the valley, gave a great luxuriance to the picture; and a stream of fine clear water, which here meandered between banks lined by full-foliaged trees and bushes, completed the union of fertility and usefulness with wealth and beauty.

We halted at this stream to refresh, as we had now gained a sufficient distance from the town not to be observed from thence, and conceived that we might therefore eat our bread in peace. Here we washed and prayed: for my guide, though a professed robber, did not neglect this common duty; and after enjoying a hearty repast from our own scrip, and reposing for an hour on the green sod, while the horses grazed by our side, we quitted this delightful spot, to renew our way.

After going for two or three hours over rugged hills of lime-stone, sparingly clad with brush-wood, and keeping always a north-westerly course, we reached a small village called Shoasheef, just as the sun was on the meridian, or in time to perform in public our

described as common about Quito, in Peru, in the voyage of Don Ulloa to South America; and by Bruce, in his account of the ascent of Lamalmon in Abyssinia.

noon-day prayers. This village, seated on the side of a gentle ascent, was peopled chiefly by Koords, and its population was said to consist of sixty families, or little more than two hundred persons, who were all peasants, and lived by the produce of their fields and flocks. We were received by one of the elders, who furnished our horses with food, and set before us some sour milk, the most refreshing beverage to be obtained in these countries, and always a welcome one in the summer of such a climate.

After sleeping for an hour, we remounted soon after one o'clock, and still went north-westerly over the same bed of hills, which is composed of many smaller ridges, crossed transversely, in the direction in which we travelled, as they stretch generally from south-west to north-east. The whole mass appears to be composed of lime-stone, and to be bare of wood, except in some few places where stunted trees and bushes clothe their sides. Their average height above the level of the plain of Mardin is less than a thousand feet; but even the valleys which are found among these ridges, of which the great chain is composed, are at least five hundred feet above that

plain; and some of them are as high as the site of Mardin itself. As they, therefore, enjoy a temperature highly favourable to vegetation, are amply watered by brooks and springs, and receive the soil of the hills, as it is washed down into them by the winter rains, they may easily be conceived to be charming little spots, when contrasted with the sterile aspect of the hills by which they are generally encompassed.

At El Assr, we reached the termination of this bed of hills, and by a very short descent came into a valley, through which ran a small stream of water. In this stream we noticed some of the same kind of tortoises as are found in the rivers of Syria, but they were here of a smaller size. The plain itself was on a higher level than most of the valleys through which we had come, and but little below the height of Mardin, though that is seated on the summit of a hill. At the entrance of it we observed a village called Shukra Tuppé; which we left about a mile to the right, or north-east of our path.

In continuing our way, we found this apparent plain to have, at first, a gentle ascent, and then to be formed of wavy land, the inequalities of which are not perceptible at a distance.

There were no eminences throughout it that could deserve the name of hills. The soil was every where abundant in quantity, and of sufficient depth for cultivation. It seemed too of a fertile kind; for such portions of it as were now sown with corn offered the prospect of an ample harvest, the wheat being formed in the ear, and ripening daily under the influence of an unclouded sun.

In about two hours after our quitting the foot of the range of hills described, and first entering on this wavy land, we came to a small village called Akh Tuppé. This, though now having a population of not more than thirty families, had been at some former period evidently a place of more importance. Among the ruins of ancient buildings, I noticed the remains of a mosque, with the masonry in intermediate layers of lime-stone and basalt, so that, as the blocks were well hewn into square forms, alternate layers of black and white were produced; this is a caprice of taste to which both Arabs and Turks are very partial, if one may judge from the frequent instances in which it is met with in their masonry, as well as others in which it is imitated by painting. The minaret of this mosque was

still standing, and perfect; but the mosque was without a roof, and seemed to have been uncovered from the beginning. Beyond this was a deep well, at which some damsels of the village watered our horses, and permitted us to drink from their vessels, when, after an exchange of inquiries and benedictions, we pursued our journey.

It was sun-set when we first came in sight of the Tigris, an elbow of which here bent towards the west, and came within less than a quarter of a mile of our path. The river appeared from this distance to be narrow, sluggish, and low in its bed.* It was here

* Of the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, which enclose Assyria, and give it the name of Mesopotamia, the channel of the Tigris, lying much *lower*, receives the water of the latter by many trenches; and, several streams also falling into its own bosom, it becomes a great river before it glides into the Persian Gulf, insomuch that it is every where impassable by a ford, for it spreads not out in breadth so as to diminish its depth, the land on both sides being much higher than the water; and it is not dispersed into other channels, nor conveyed into other rivers, but takes them into itself. But the Euphrates glides along a much *higher* channel, and is, in many places, of equal height with the lands on each side, so that several streams are cut from it; some constant ones, which supply the inhabitants with water, others only occasional, when the neighbouring coun-

that we first saw the black porous basalt, so common in the Haurān and the plains east of the Euphrates, all the hills that we had traversed from Mardin thus far being of limestone. The basalt appears here, however, on the river's bank, and is said to follow the course of the road all the way down to Jezeeret and Mousul, and to be still found upon the banks of the Tigris upward beyond Diarbekr, to near its source. It evidently extends westerly also from hence, probably falling into the Kara Dagh, or Black Mountains, and then joining the basaltic basis of the great plains, over which we had journeyed since leaving Orfah.

It was not yet dark when we reached a village called Poorang, where we halted to pass the night, as there was no hope of reaching Diarbekr in time to be admitted within the gates. The chief of this village received us very readily; and while the younger part of his family took care of our horses, and set about to prepare our supper, he himself spread carpets and cushions for us on the terrace of

tries happen to be parched up with drought, for rains seldom fall in these parts.—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. vii. c. 7, v. 2. p. 138.

his house, and sat to entertain us with such civilities as he conceived most agreeable to us after our journey. The population of this village, to the number of about a hundred families, were wholly Koords, descendants of early settlers in the plains, who had originally come down from the opposite mountains of Koordistan. The physiognomy of such as we saw seemed to be different both from the Turks and the Arab countenance. The form of the head and face was rounder, the features in general flatter, the complexion fair and ruddy, and the eyes dark and expressive. The abodes of these people were cleaner and neater than the habitations of the same class of peasantry are found to be either in Egypt or Syria, and the furniture and conveniences of the household establishment are, in every respect, superior.

In addition to the hospitable treatment which we received from our host, we were entertained by a party who were called in by the old man expressly for our amusement. This consisted of a robust mountaineer, who wore a pointed bonnet and a fantastic dress, an effeminate youth dressed in female apparel, and decked with ornaments, and three men

who played on musical instruments, including a rude guitar, a reed or pipe, and a drum, beaten on by the palm of the hand and the fingers. The man exhibited some extraordinary feats of strength and agility; the boy danced, and placed himself in such lascivious and wanton attitudes, as to draw forth shouts of approbation from all beholders.* The music was rude, but very skilfully varied, from the abrupt and hurried measure to which the Athleta moved in his exercises of strength, to the rapturous softness and languishing cadence of the airs to which his effeminate companion danced.

This entertainment was so perfectly suited to the taste of the people here, that, in less than an hour after the exhibition began, every individual in the village, man, woman, and child, had gathered upon the house-tops to enjoy as much of it as they were able, our own terrace not being sufficiently large to contain more than about fifty persons, and this was already so crowded as to make us apprehensive of its falling in. The festivity continued until a late hour, it being long past midnight before the party had dispersed or the music ceased.

* See the Note on these Eastern dances in a former chapter, pp. 102—105.

CHAPTER XI.

DESCRIPTION OF DIARBEKR.

JUNE 27th.—Notwithstanding that we were now within thre hours only of Diarbekr, it was thought so unsafe to go from hence to that city alone, that two horsemen had been waiting here the whole of the preceding day for the protection of additional companions, before they would venture to continue their journey. They had, during the entertainment of the last evening, solicited permission to join us, and as they were known in the village, we readily consented to their proposition.

We quitted Poorang together at day-light, being all four well mounted and well armed; and the road being now unobstructed by hills or rocks, we scoured over the plains, as if we were ourselves bent on some plundering expedition.

In less than an hour we reached the Tigris,

CHAPTER XI.

CROSSING THE TIGRIS, AND FIRST APPROACH TO DIARBEKR.

which here came from the south-west on our left, and flowed to the north-east on our right, making a great westerly bend as it goes by the town of Diarbekr; and here taking an easterly bend, so as to get again in the proper line of its descent to the sea, which is from north-west to south-east. The banks of the river were shelving, and its bed a mixture of earth and sand. Its breadth across was not more than a hundred feet, and it was so shallow as to be fordable by our horses without wetting their riders. The waters were tolerably clear, and sweet to the taste, and the rate of the current seemed not to exceed two miles per hour.*

After crossing the river, we came on a fine light soil, now used as corn-land, and, as we rode past, started large flocks of black starlings, to the number of several hundreds in each flight. Continuing on a course inclining more

* While the Ten Thousand were encamped between the mountains of Curdistan and the Tigris, before they struck off among the Curds, they had the curiosity to attempt ascertaining the depth of the river. On one side of them, says Xenophon, were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river so deep, that, when they sounded it with their pikes, the ends of them did not even appear above the water.

northerly, we came, in another hour, to the banks of the Tigris again, the river here coming from the north-east on our right, and flowing to the south-west on our left, or exactly the reverse of what we had found it before, from its making the serpentine bend described.

It was on the moment of our coming on the brow of the slope, which here formed the southern bank of the river, and gave us the view of the stream flowing by, that we caught the first sight of Diarbekr, which burst upon us all at once, and presented a picture of so much interest, that I involuntarily checked the bridle of my horse to dwell upon the scene; while my companions, to whom it was a familiar one, dashed across the river without heeding it for a moment, and stemmed together a broader, deeper, and more rapid stream than we had crossed before.*

The aspect of Diarbekr, at this first view, isth at of a walled and fortified city, seated on a commanding eminence, appearing to be strongly defended by its position as well as

* Pliny says, that the Tigris, in Mesopotamia, is reckoned among the rivers that go under ground and reappear again.—*Nat. Hist.* b. 2, c. 103—b. 6, c. 27.

its works without, and splendid, and wearing an air of great stateliness and opulence, in its mosques and towers within. The country, amid which it is seated, is every where fertile and productive. Lofty mountains in the distance, while looking eastward toward Koordistan, give an outline of great grandeur; in that direction, gardens and bridges, and pleasant summer-houses, seen nearer at hand, add softer beauties to the scene; while the passage of the Tigris, at the foot of the hill on which the town is seated, offers a combination of picturesque beauty, agricultural wealth, domestic convenience, and rural enjoyment.

After passing the Tigris a second time, we went up a steep road on the side of the hill, having gardens below us on our right, and extensive cemeteries, in more abrupt valleys, on our left, till we approached the gate called, by the Turks, Mardin Kaupusee, and by the Arabs, Bab el Mardin, from its being the gate leading to and from that town. A mass of the basaltic rock, on which the whole city of Diarbekr is built, having recently fallen away, exposed to view an extensive cluster of distinctly-formed basaltic columns. These were in general of a pentagonal form, some of

them shewing a length of ten or fifteen feet, and appearing to be about a foot or fifteen inches in diameter. The stone was of a dark colour, close-grained, and was the same kind of basalt as that we had seen, in all its different degrees of firmness and porosity, from the valley of the Jordan to this place.

On entering Diarbekr, by the gate of Mardin, we passed through paved streets and crowded bazārs, till we came nearly into the centre of the city, where we alighted at the house of a certain Yuseff, a Christian merchant, to whom the Syrian Patriarch, at Mardin, had given me a letter. He received us with great kindness, and offered his utmost assistance during our stay. The whole of his family and dependants were called in, to bid us welcome, and a number of his friends and acquaintances, chiefly Christians, followed to see and congratulate the strangers. To Yuseff I knew I might safely intrust the secret of my being an Englishman, being aware that the communication of this would be as flattering to him as advantageous to myself. It was still concealed, however, from my guide, and from the few other Mohammedans who visited us: but when these had retired, and

the entertainment that had been hastily prepared for the occasion was set before us, my guide, who had no more scruples than myself as to the use of forbidden draughts, followed my example in this particular, and we, therefore, still retained our Moslem characters in each other's eye, though our practices were entirely Christian. While we sat around the board of our hospitable host, messengers were sent to the Konauk Tatar Agasi, or rendezvous of the Tartars, to ascertain whether there were any despatch-bearers destined for Bagdad, or whether any were soon expected from Constantinople. The principal object of our journey to this place was, indeed, to find such messengers, if possible, in the direct road between these great cities, which stand at the extremes of the Turkish empire, and to accompany them on their way. This cannot be done casually at any of the intermediate posts on the road, but must be effected at some one of the head-quarters, in the great towns at which they halt. It is here only that travellers can make the necessary arrangement for the proper supply of such a number of horses as they may require: a firman is then given to them, by

the governor of the city, authorizing them to demand the number specified, from those who have contracted to supply the post-horses on the road, and all then goes on smoothly. Without such authority from the government, the suppliers of the horses would not grant them to a stranger, even on payment of the common hire; as it is not the custom to lend out horses in this way to any one, except the Sultan's messengers, for whom they are carefully reserved.

Our disappointment was great when the messengers returned to tell us, that though there were several Tatars going to the north, there were none destined for Bagdad; and from the recent passage of despatches that way, no couriers from Constantinople were immediately expected. This, however, they added, was always uncertain; and we were, therefore, advised to wait a day or two, under the hope of some arrival. In complying with this advice, we should lose the occasion of the caravan from Mardin, which still remained, without being certain of securing another; so that on reflection I determined rather to hasten our return. As we had yet nearly the whole of the day before us, I was desirous of

employing it in an excursion about the town, and in seeing as much of its interior as the short period allotted for our stay would admit. For this purpose, a guide was furnished me by Yuseff, the merchant, who was recommended to me as combining the useful qualities of fidelity and great local knowledge, acquired during a long residence here; and besides this, he was perfectly acquainted with Arabic, which enabled us to communicate freely. With this man I traversed the interior of the city, in every direction, visiting the mosques, the bazārs, and the baths; and, after nearly four hours' rambling through crowded streets and narrow passages, halting to observe such buildings and places as were more particularly curious, we came at last to the citadel, which stands at the opposite extremity of the town to that by which we entered it. From hence we enjoyed a more commanding view of the whole city, spread out beneath us, as well as of the surrounding country, than we could have done from any other spot; and, adding the more minute features, which we had collected in our peregrinations through the town, to this panoramic

picture of it, noted on the spot, the following was the general result:—

The city of Diarbekr is seated on a mass of basaltic rock, rising in an eminence on the west bank of the Tigris, the stream of that river flowing by the foot of this hill, from north-east to south-west, as it makes a sharp bend in that direction from the northward. The form of the town is very nearly circular: it is walled all around, and is about three miles in circuit.

There are four gates now open in the city, and these are called by the names of the respective quarters of the country to and from which they lead. The first, which is on the south-west, is called Bab el Mardin, or Mardin Kaupusee: the second, on the west, is called Bab el Roum, or Oroum Kaupusee: the third, on the north, is called Bab el Jebel, or Daugh Kaupusee; and the fourth, on the east, is called Bab el Jedeed, or Yenghi Kaupusee. The first leads to Mardin, the second to Asia Minor, or Roumelia, the third to the mountains of Armenia and Koordistan, and the fourth, which is a new one, to the river.

The citadel, standing about midway be-

tween these two last-named gates, is thus in the north-east angle of the town; and, seated on the eminence of rock here, in a line with the walls, it overlooks the stream of the Tigris below, and by its elevation commands the whole of the town. The city-walls have round and square towers, at irregular intervals, and being high and strongly built of hewn stone, present an appearance of great strength; but the most securely fortified portion of it is that on the north, where the square towers are very thickly placed, and where there is a long battery of guns mounted, pointing through covered embrasures.

The remote boundaries of the view from hence, while standing on the citadel, are sufficiently marked to convey an idea of the nature of the country in which this city is placed. On the west is seen the range of Karaj Dagh, or the black hills, which are of a moderate height, regular outline, and distant from ten to fifteen miles, going in a north-east and south-west direction. On the north are seen the lofty mountains of Moosh Dagh, over which the road leads into Armenia and to Erzeroum, the mountains themselves being distant about twenty miles east, and

stretching from west to east, as if a continuation of the chain of Taurus.

To the north-north-east, the Tigris is seen winding downward from its source in the hills, about four days' journey off, till it reaches the town itself, when it bends to the south-west, and runs past it in that direction, till it recovers its former course by a contrary bend, as before described. On the north-east, another portion of the Moosh Dagh is seen, covered with snow, the range of its chain here bending south-westerly to go down through Koordistan in the line of the Tigris, running nearly parallel with its stream, but at some distance beyond its eastern bank. On the south-east, the wavy land and hills over which we had come from Mardin offered no particular objects to the view. And on the south-west is seen a portion of the Karaj Dagh, and the plain, leading in that direction towards Orfah.

The citadel, which enjoyed so commanding a position here, is now abandoned, and completely in ruins. We had even difficulty in ascending to the platform near its centre, being obliged to mount over rubbish and fallen fragments; and, on reaching the top, we found

the desolation so complete, that several of the dismounted cannon, which had been left there, were now more than half buried in the earth and long grass that had grown up around them. The form of the citadel is nearly circular; and it enclosed a space of at least a furlong in diameter. Within its ruined enceinte, is still the palace of the Pasha, which is a commodious rather than a splendid building. Attached to it are extensive stables, and a Maidān, or open space, where the horses are kept in the air, and where the horsemen sometimes exercise in the use of the jereed. One of the places used as a stable presents the ruins of a handsome and noble edifice, with finely-constructed domes of brick-work, and a beautiful door with columns and pilasters, most probably the remains of an old Christian building.

In the lower part of the citadel, near one of the gates of entrance, and now, indeed, the only one, as two of the former are closed up, we saw a number of brass cannon of different calibre, lying neglected on the ground. The largest of these had a bore equal to that of a twenty-four pounder, the smallest were of the size of our long nines, but were nearly

double the length of our longest guns. Some of these pieces had on them Arabic inscriptions, of the date of the 1113th year of the Hejira, or A. D. 1735, so that they could hardly have been used here before they had fallen into neglect. There were also some bombs and mortars of brass, and old armour of iron; but the guns were all dismounted, and every thing lay in one undistinguished heap.*

The town of Diarbekr, as seen from this height, does not appear to cover so great an extent of ground as Orfah, nor are the houses within it so thickly placed. The aspect is extremely different; the buildings of Orfah being generally constructed of white limestone, and those of Diarbekr being all built of black basalt in the lower stories, and of

* Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing his flight to this city, says, "It is seated on an eminence, accessible only by a narrow path cut out of the rock." He adds also, "that Constantius surrounded Amida with walls and towers, and furnished it with a magazine of warlike machines." He adds, after an accurate description of its environs, "that there was in the centre of the city, and near the fortress, a large fountain, of which the water was drinkable, though, during the very hot weather, it had a disagreeable odour."—lib. xviii. c. 9. v. 1.

dark-coloured brick in the upper ones. There are, however, several mosques, towers, and little garden-plots with trees, seen in different parts of the town, which relieve the sombre colour of the buildings, and the sameness which a succession of flat terraces always produces.

The population is estimated at an extravagant rate, by the people of the country themselves; but it may be safely asserted, that at the present moment there are about fifty thousand inhabitants. The great mass of these are Osmanli Turks, as soldiers, government officers, merchants, and mechanics. Besides these, the Armenians, who, next to the Turks, are the most numerous, are thought to have a thousand families. The Arab, Turkish, and Armenian followers of the Catholic communion, have five hundred families. The Syrian sect are thought to include, at least, four hundred families. The Greeks, who are the least numerous among the Christians here, have about fifty. But the Jews have of late so rapidly declined, by emigration to Bagdad, Aleppo, and Constantinople, that there are now not more than a dozen houses of them left.

Of the mosques seen from the citadel, there are fifteen with minarets, nine of these having circular shafts and galleries in the Mohammedan style, and the remaining six having square towers after the manner of Christian churches, which it is generally thought these edifices once were. There are five other mosques, with domes or cupolas only, and several smaller ones without any distinguishing mark, making, altogether, about twenty-five Mohammedan places of worship. Of the Christian churches, the Armenians have two, one of which is large and richly decorated, and the other is smaller, but more tastefully adorned. The Catholics have a church, and a convent attached to it, in which two Italian Capuchin Friars live, with their usual dependants. The Syrians and the Greeks have also a place of worship each, and the few Jews have a small synagogue for their service, which completes the whole of the religious buildings within the walls.

There are upwards of twenty baths in the town ; of which the principal are, the Bath of Wahab Aga, the Pasha's Bath, the Bath of the Market, the Castle-Bath, and the Baths of the Camel and the Ass. The two first derive their names from their founders ; the two

next, from their situations; and the two last from their peculiar features, that of the camel being the largest and most spacious in all its interior divisions, and that of the ass having so little to recommend it but its cheapness, that none but ass-drivers and asses, according to the saying here, would even visit it, though it is frequented by all the poor people of the town.

There are about fifteen khans or caravanserais, of which the chief are, Khan Hassan Pasha, Khan Cheufta, Yengi Khan, Khan Paga Oghlee, Khan Abba Chia, Khan Kirkasha, Khan Segheutty, Khan Delibashi, Khan Khalah, Khan Thaboon, and Khan Arratha. The first of these is particularly fine, and superior to any of those at Orfah. In its lower court, the corn-market is usually held. Its magazines, within the piazza, which runs around this, are generally filled with goods. In the upper galleries are carried on several trades and manufactures. The rooms around form the lodgings of the travellers who halt here; and above all is an upper story, with apartments for the harems or families of those who may sojourn here, with kitchens, fireplaces, and other domestic conveniences.

The bazārs are not so regularly laid out, or so well covered in, as in the large towns of Turkey generally. They are narrow, often crooked, and mostly roofed-over with wood. They are, however, well supplied with goods of all descriptions that are in request here, and, during the regular hours of business, are thronged with people. The manufactures of the town are chiefly silk and cotton stuffs, similar to those made at Damascus; printed muslin shawls and handkerchiefs, morocco leather in skins of all colours, smith's work in hardware, and pipes for smoking made of the jasmin branch, covered with muslin and embroidered with gold and silver thread. There are thought to be no less than fifteen hundred looms employed in weaving of stuffs; about five hundred printers of cotton, who perform their labours in the Khan Hassan Pasha, after the same manner as before described at Orfah; three hundred manufacturers of leather in the skin, besides those who work it into shoes, saddlery, and other branches of its consumption; a hundred smiths; and a hundred and fifty makers of ornamented pipe-stems only, besides those who make the clay balls, amber mouth-pieces, &c. The cloths consumed here

are obtained from Europe, through Aleppo, as well as most of the glass ware, which is German; and fine muslins, Cashmere-shawls, spices, and drugs, come to them from India, through Bagdad; but most of the articles of domestic necessity can be procured in the place from its own resources, as every species of fruit and provisions are abundant and cheap, and the common manufactures of the town are sufficient to supply the wants of the great mass of the population.

The present Governor of the Pashalick and city of Diarbekr, whose name is Kullendar Pasha, has the dignity of three tails, and is therefore immediately dependent on the Sublime Porte only, without acknowledging any intermediate chief. His force within the city is said to consist of about a thousand soldiers, of whom more than half are Turkish cavalry, and the remainder Turkish and Albanian foot. In the remote part of his territory, however, there are always petty chiefs, both among the Turks and the Koords, who, in case of need, do him military service with their followers, on condition of certain privileges and exemptions granted them in return. Even among the people here, in the heart of the Turkish

empire, where despotism is so familiar to all, the government of Kullendar Pasha is thought to be severe; though, judging from external appearances, there are few towns in which there seem to be more of personal liberty, competence, and comfort among all classes of people.

On descending from the citadel, we went to the bath of the castle, which adjoins a mosque with a high square tower, and is close by the Mausoleum of a former Pasha, whose memory is held by all in great respect. We found here every thing that could contribute to the luxury of this enjoyment, and as a refreshment was prepared for us while we were in the inner bath, we partook of it on our carpets and cushions before dressing, and were renovated and refreshed, by this agreeable combination, after our fatiguing ramble through the town.

On leaving the bath, as it was near sun-set, we went to the Jāmah Kirkashoon, or Jāmah el Russās—a mosque so called, from its fine dome and roof being completely covered with sheet lead—to perform our evening devotions, my guide being himself a Mohammedan, and believing me to be of the same faith. The

court of this mosque is spacious, and its front grand and beautiful. It is entered through a portico of eight pillars, which, from the singular appearance of their surface, appear like a composition, but are each a shaft of one solid stone. The dome and the lofty minaret, which rise from the edifice, are also very fine, and give to the whole an effect of great strength and stateliness. The interior, like that of most Mohammedan temples, is perfectly unadorned, having only the niche pointing to Mecca, a pulpit, and lamps, with carpets on the pavement for prayer.

On our return homeward, we stopped at a smelting-house, where they were running copper ore into large cakes, about the form, size, and weight of those sent from the stannaries in Cornwall, but less purely refined from the dross. We were told here, that the copper ore was brought from a place called Maadān, three days' journey to the north-east of this, and that, when smelted, it was sent by caravans to Orfah, Mousul, Bagdad, and Bussorah. Our inquiries regarding the price and the quantity annually exported were suspected to arise from interested views, and were not so readily answered.

Among the minarets of the mosques, I noticed some that were highly sculptured, and in several of the square towers were intermediate layers of red burnt-brick work, mixed with masonry of stone, after the manner of the Roman towers in the walls at Antioch, and quite as well executed as the buildings there. Amid the ruins of the castle, too, we had seen some fine arches of highly burnt bricks, which, from their form, as well as material, looked more like Roman than Saracenic work. In the bazārs and baths, there are portions of brick-work of a similar kind, which are, however, decidedly Mohammedan, as well as the mixture of basalt and lime-stone, in intermediate layers of black and white, in the khans and other large buildings. Among the broken columns of black basalt, which are seen scattered in different quarters of the town, there are, however, several Ionic capitals, which can leave no doubt of their being of Greek origin, and previous to the invasion of this country, either by the Turks or the Saracens.

It is from the circumstance of the wall and buildings of this city being constructed almost wholly of this black stone, that it is called, by the Turks, Kara Amid, or the Black Amid.

Amida was its ancient name,* and its present one of Diarbekr, which prevails chiefly with the Arabs, is from the name of the province of which it is the capital, for the Turks still use the name of Amid, as applied to the city, in all their public writings. According to D'Herbelot, the author of the Arabic History, called Tarikh Montekheb, pretends that this place was built by Shah Amurath, a king of Persia, of the first dynasty. The emperor Constantine fortified it against the Persians. It was afterwards pillaged and partly burnt by Tamerlane, in breach of a solemn engagement, in the year of the Hejira 796, and, after that, Usuncassan and the other kings of Persia had successively rendered themselves masters of it. Selim, the first Sultan of the Osmanli Turks, retook it from Shah Ismael, in the year of the Hejira 921, and established there a Beglerbeg, or governor of a province, with twelve sanjiacks, or standards, under him.†

In the History of the Invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor, A. D. 359, the particulars of the siege of Amida are detailed, with much

* Cellarius, Anc. Geog. lib. iii. c. 15, p. 441.

† Bibliothèque Orientale, tom. i. p. 210.

eloquence, by the author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. After describing the military pomp of the army of this sovereign, from the plains of Assyria towards those of Mesopotamia, and the obstacles opposed to their march by the precautions that had been taken to retard their progress or defeat their design, he says, that though Sapor overlooked the strength of Nisibis, he resolved, as he passed under the walls of Amida, to try whether the majesty of his presence would not awe the garrison into immediate submission. An attack was made by a select body of troops, which was answered by a general discharge, in which the only son of the besieging prince was pierced through the heart by a javelin, shot from one of the balistæ. The funeral of the youth was celebrated according to the rites of his country, and the grief of the aged father was alleviated by the solemn promise of Sapor, that the guilty city of Amida should serve as a funeral pile to expiate the death, and to perpetuate the memory, of his son.

The Emperor Constantius had recently conferred on Amida the honour of his own name, and the additional fortifications of strong

walls and lofty towers. It was provided with an arsenal of military engines, and the ordinary garrison had been reinforced to the amount of seven legions, when the place was invested by the arms of Sapor. The assault was again made; but, after an obstinate combat, the besiegers were repulsed; and though they incessantly returned to the charge, they were again driven back with a dreadful slaughter. In one of the fiercest of these repeated assaults, Amida was betrayed by the treachery of a deserter, who indicated to the barbarians a secret and neglected staircase, scooped out of the rock that hangs over the stream of the Tigris. After Sapor had tried, without success, the efficacy of force and stratagem, he had recourse to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege, in the conduct of which he was instructed by the skill of the Roman deserters. But every mode of resistance which art could suggest, or courage could execute, was employed in the defence of Amida, and the works of Sapor were more than once destroyed by the fire of the Romans. The resources of a besieged city may, however, be exhausted. The Persians repaired their losses, and pushed their ap-

proaches; a large breach was made by the battering ram, and the strength of the garrison, wasted by the sword and by disease, yielded to the fury of the assault. The soldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children, all who had not time to escape through the opposite gate, were involved by the conquerors in a promiscuous massacre.*

When Jovian evacuated Nisibis and Singara, and restored the five provinces of the Tigris to the Persians, about four years after this siege of Amida, or A. D. 363, the unhappy fugitives of the former city, now compelled to abandon their homes, were seated in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.†

During the Persian war of Kobad, A. D. 505, Amida again sustained a long and destructive siege. At the end of three months, says the historian, the loss of fifty thousand of the soldiers of Cabades or Kobad was not balanced by any prospect of success, and it was in vain that the Magi deduced a flattering

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. iii. pp. 205—209. 8vo.

† Ibid. vol. iv. c. 24, p. 220. 8vo.

prediction from the indecency of the women on the ramparts. At length, in a silent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by a few monks, oppressed after the duties of a festival with sleep and wine. Scaling-ladders were applied at the dawn of day; the presence of Cabades, his stern command, and his drawn sword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and, before it was sheathed, four thousand of the inhabitants had expiated the blood of their companions.*

The pillage of Tamerlane was nearly nine hundred years after this event, or A. D. 1393; and the successive sieges and captures of this place by Usuncassan and the other Kings of Persia followed, until it was conquered by Selim, the first Sultan of the Osmanli Turks, in A. D. 1515. It fell again, however, under the Persian power, in less than a century afterwards, or about the year 1605. In the history of the Suffavean dynasty of Persian kings, after describing a bloody battle between the Persians and the Turks, in which the latter were entirely defeated; another historian says, from the period of this great

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, vol. vii. c. 40, p. 138. 8vo.

victory till the death of Shah Abbas, he not only kept the Turks in complete check, but recovered all the territories which that nation had before taken from Persia. They were successively driven from their possessions along the shores of the Caspian, from Aderbijan, Georgia, Kurdistan, Bagdad, Mousul, and Diarbekr, all of which were reannexed, by the sword of this monarch, to the Persian empire.*

In 1644, when Tavernier travelled through these countries, Diarbekr seems still to have been considered as a part of Persia, and as such he always speaks of it. He mentions an opinion there, that the sixty-two towers in the outer wall were built in honour of the sixty-two disciples of Jesus Christ; and says, that, in his day, there was an inscription over one of the gates, in Greek and Latin, that made mention of one Constantine. This was, no doubt, an inscription commemorating that emperor's repairs and embellishments here. I made many inquiries, both regarding this, and the secret staircase scooped in the rock of the citadel which overhangs the Tigris, as spoken of by Gibbon, but I could obtain no account

* Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 541.

of either; and, indeed, the wonder of those whom I consulted on these subjects was strongly excited by the questions, as they could not conceive the motives which led to these inquiries, nor did they know any thing, even traditionally, of the facts to which they alluded. In the time of Tavernier, the estimate of the population was much greater than at present, as he numbers the Christians alone at twenty thousand, and states that the Basha or Vizier could bring above twenty thousand horse into the field.*

Niebuhr, in 1766, thought the number of inhabited houses to be about sixteen thousand, and the fourth part of these to be Christian dwellings. The government was then a Turkish one, as it still continues, nor does any material alteration seem to have taken place, since that period, except probably the ordinary change of governors. The inscriptions in Kufic and Arabic, which he then copied from the walls, are, as he described them in his time, but barely legible, from their being on a soft white lime-stone, which is inlaid between layers of the black basalt,

* The Six Voyages of John Baptiste Tavernier, b. iii. c. 3, p. 104. London, 1678, small folio.

and from the operation of the atmosphere alone is much more liable to injury than the hard stone of the walls themselves.

The Turks of Diarbekr are conceived to be more fanatic in their hatred of Christians than in other parts of the empire: I had no opportunity of witnessing this, though it was confirmed by the report of those resident here. It was at this place that I first noticed the Armenian calpac, a sort of high and heavy cap of cloth, which is worn by the Armenians of Constantinople, Smyrna, and the north of Asia Minor, but extends no farther south than this; for in Aleppo, Orfah, Mardin, and all Syria and Egypt, as well as Mousul and Bagdad, as we were told, these are always replaced by turbans of the Arabic form. The Koords and Arabs who sojourn here preserve their own peculiar and respective costumes. The women wear their outer coverings sometimes of white muslin, as at Smyrna and Damascus; sometimes of checkered blue cotton, as in most parts of Syria and Egypt; and sometimes of black silk, as is usual among the wealthier classes of ladies at Cairo. Both sexes are subject to the eruption in the face, as at Aleppo and Orfah, but in a much

less extensive degree than at either of these places, the proportion here not exceeding one person in forty. As at the former towns, it is attributed by some to the water, and by others to the air, of the place; the mode of treatment too is the same at each, and the effects nearly similar, leaving a scar on the part affected after it has healed.

When we returned from our excursion around the town, as the gates were not yet shut, we intended going out to the village of Poorang to sleep, and hoped by setting off from thence early in the morning to reach Mardin within the same day, in time to join the caravan on its march. We accordingly took leave of Yuseff, the merchant, and repaired to the Khan to rejoin our horses and mount there. My Koord guide was not at first to be found; but, after sending emissaries in all directions to search for him, we at length discovered that he was held in personal arrest by a Turk of Diarbekr, to whom he was deeply indebted, and who, having met him now for the first time during the last five years, had laid violent hands upon his person, and swore by his beard, and by that of the Prophet, that he would not set him

again at liberty, until a portion, at least, of the debt was paid, and some security offered for the remainder.

The redemption of this man from his present bondage seemed to me so hopeless, that I did not even make an offer towards it, but directed search to be made after any other man who might be qualified to go with me as a guide to Mardin, and who should be sufficiently well known to the chiefs and their bands on the road, to protect me by his presence from their rapacity. Such a person was at length discovered, though not without much difficulty, and profiting by the supposed urgency of the case, demanded five hundred piastres for the undertaking! It was in vain to think of coming to terms after such an extravagant demand as this, so that the point was given up, and the man dismissed, amidst a volley of abuse and imprecations on us all, for having called him from his pipe and cushions on such a faithless errand.

I now returned to the Khan, with a determination to set out on my journey alone, and run all hazard of the evils which would necessarily await me on my track. Yuseff, the merchant, and all his friends, very kindly

and strenuously opposed so rash a measure, but there was no alternative between doing this or waiting here, no one knew how long, for a better opportunity, and thereby losing the caravan at Mardin, without being certain of when or how I should be able to reach Mousul by any other. We accordingly roused up the keeper of the Khan, who had by this time closed his outer gates, and was taking a solitary pipe, and desired him to bring forth my horse; for though the city-gates were all closed, a present of eight or ten piastres would be sufficient to cause these to be thrown open for my going out. The man came out, angry at being disturbed from his pleasures, and half indignant at the imprudence of one whom he supposed to be at least the associate and partner of a common marauder. He told us to give ourselves no further airs, as he had received orders from the Governor himself not to let the Koord or his Syrian companion go, until the enraged creditor, who had detained him, had been satisfied. Our horses had therefore both been secured, and the keeper of them peremptorily refused to liberate either the one or the other, until he had received the Governor's orders so to do.

In this dilemma, nothing remained to be done, but to make an application to the Governor himself, through the best and speediest channel, and as it was now long past sun-set, there would be considerable difficulty in obtaining access to his person. It was proposed, therefore, that we should repair to the house of Yuseff, and endeavour to find out some one of the suite of the Pasha, who was usually attendant on his person, and who, for a competent remuneration, would no doubt undertake to negociate the affair. We accordingly returned to the merchant's dwelling, and in less than an hour afterwards a Turkish Effendi, one of the Pasha's confidential secretaries, was found, who offered, for an acknowledgment in money, to obtain both the liberation of my own horse, and that of the Koord too, before the morning. For each of these he at first demanded two hundred piastres, but, after many bickerings, he reduced his demand to one hundred. The liberation of the Koord himself he thought would not be so easy a task, as the order of the Pasha would be hardly sufficient to induce an enraged creditor to give up the hold which he had of his debtor's person, the only secu-

rity he could ever have from such a wandering character for being paid his due.

The Turk had been absent little more than an hour before he returned, bringing with him the keeper of the khan, whom he had himself taken to the presence of the Pasha, to receive the order for the liberation of my horse, which he had undertaken to procure; and the horse, being now sent for, was brought from the caravanserai to the court of Yuseff's house, to assure us the more unequivocally of its freedom. I accordingly paid to Hassan, the Turk, the hundred piastres, for which we had originally bargained, and twenty-five more, which it was pronounced, by general acclamation, I ought to pay the old keeper, as a present on delivering up his charge; and this, under the joy of the moment, I was not prepared to dispute, being sufficiently happy in the belief, that I should now be at liberty to set out with the morning's dawn, and at all events be free to pursue my journey alone.

An ample feast had been all this while preparing, to which the whole circle of Yuseff's Christian acquaintance had been invited, in order to break the bread of friendship with an Englishman, all Mohammedans being ex-

cluded, that they might the more freely indulge the privileges of their common faith in midnight potions, and vent their indignation against their oppressors over the intoxicating draught. We sat down, to the number of about thirty, around a large metal salver, laden with dishes, which were put on, taken off, and replaced by others in quick succession, after the fashion of the Turks. The feast was preceded by songs in the Turkish language, most of them remarkable for their gross indelicacy. Large glasses of arrack were swallowed at short intervals, so that most of the party were intoxicated before they began to eat, and as glasses were again served in pretty quick succession during the meal, many were quite drunk before it was ended. Loose songs were now followed by still looser conversations, and lascivious dances were next performed by men and boys, without the gravest among them being at all shocked at these Bacchanalian orgies. The utmost freedom was given to their expressions of hatred against the Turks; and though it was impossible not to feel pity for them, as subjects of the most galling tyranny, or not to sympathise with them in their faintest struggles

against so odious slavery, yet it was painful to see that they quietly submitted to the yoke, and suffered themselves to be trodden under foot while sober, and breathed forth slaughter and revenge only while they were drunk; leaving the impression that they would be as cruel, were they of the stronger party, as they are timid and unresisting now that they are of the weaker. Here, upon the spot, I was forcibly struck with the contrast which the conduct and professions of these Christian teachers exhibited, when compared with the charity of a former bishop of the same place, as related by Gibbon, and deservedly rescued by him from oblivion.*

Acts of benevolence and Christian charity, from whomsoever they spring, cannot be too frequently mentioned, and they shine with more lustre from amidst the aggravated wrongs

* "This Acacius of Amida, boldly declaring, that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives, taken in the Theodosian war; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality, and dismissed them to their native country, to inform the king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted."—Gibbon, vol. v. c. 32, p. 427.

under which they are displayed. But of the conduct to which I was here a painful witness, it is difficult to speak, except in terms of reprobation. These oriental Christians of the present day were not, however, without their consolations, which they reciprocally interchange in nearly the same language as that attributed, in the very next page of the same historian, to the Armenian archbishop Isaac, when he deplores, yet half excuses, the vices of Antasines, the nephew and successor of the Persian Chosroes.*

These midnight revels did not cease until the morning was nigh, and even then many more had sunk upon the floor to sleep, from fatigue and intoxication, than had retired for the purpose of going to their own homes. The speedy downfall of the Mohammedan power, and the eternal damnation of all heretics and infidels, were the favourite toasts; and these, it is said, were so clearly recom-

* "Our king," says this mitred prelate, "is too much addicted to licentious pleasures; but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious."

mended by holy writ, that drinking to their accomplishment was only supporting the word of God, and hastening the drinker's own salvation. With this reiterated assurance, which was repeated on all sides at every draught that was swallowed, sounds of cursing still reverberating in my ears, I stretched myself along upon the carpet, to catch an hour's repose before the dawn should summon me to begin my journey, which the revolting scenes I had unwillingly witnessed here made me most impatient to begin.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM DIARBEKR TO MARDIN, DARA, AND NISIBIS.

JUNE 28th.—It was by the grey twilight of the morning that I saddled my horse, in haste; when, rolling up my carpet behind me, and balancing my spear, I mounted in the court-yard of the merchant's house, and left the recently noisy party all now sound asleep, after the excesses of the preceding night.

It was not yet sun-rise when I reached the city-gate, so that this was still shut; and as the warders had received orders on the preceding evening not to suffer either the Koord or myself to pass without express permission from the governor, I was again arrested here, until the truth of my own liberation from the claims of my companion's

CHAPTER XII.

RURAL CELEBRATION OF AN EASTERN MARRIAGE BY A VILLAGE FEAST.

creditor could be ascertained. A well-timed present prevailed on one of the guards to hasten off to the palace, in order to make the necessary inquiries; while another commanded a servant to hold my horse, with a hope of something being given him for his civility. The Aga of the guard, who had by this time just ended his morning prayers, then invited me to his carpet, and filling my pipe out of his own tobacco-bag, presented me also with a cup of his morning coffee, thus rendering my detention as agreeable as he could.

The messenger at length returned, with a confirmation of the truth of all that I had stated, with respect to my freedom: the expected presents were paid, the gates were thrown open, and with the prayers of the guards for the safe journey of one whom they supposed to be a believer, going heedlessly forth into danger, I left the walls of Diarbekr to return to Mardin alone.

Crossing the Tigris at the two fords, over which we had passed before, I was enabled to retrace my path with sufficient ease, and pushed on through Poorang, Akh Tuppé, Shukrah Tuppé, and Sushoaf, going at a full trot nearly the whole of the way, halting

only at these villages to drink, and to ask a few questions regarding the roads, now and then also ascending an eminence, to command a more extensive view, and see if my way a-head was clear.

It was about El Assr when I reached Sushoaf, without having met with any obstacle in my way; but it was now necessary, as I intended to travel all night, to halt for an hour to refresh and repose. I accordingly alighted at the house of the Sheikh, who had entertained us on our way to Diarbekr, and beneath whose roof we had slept away an hour, securely sheltered from the heat of the mid-day sun. His first inquiry was naturally after my former companion, who had been long personally known to him; and though I ran the risk of incurring blame for deserting him in his distress, and probably, too, of being pillaged, since I was no longer under his protection, I thought it best to give a true and simple statement of the cause of our separation. It had the effect I anticipated, in exciting his displeasure: but this was softened by the observations of some young females, who were preparing the materials for a wedding-feast in the same room,

and who seemed privileged, by the occasion of the festivity, to speak their minds more freely than usual. They pleaded warmly, and not unsuccessfully, on my behalf; and the anger of the chief was soon appeased.

The preparations in which these females were engaged, were for a marriage-feast, the bridegroom being a Koord of the mountains, and the bride a sister of the young girls who so kindly advocated my cause; and as these were all daughters of the Sheikh himself, they even prevailed on him to insist on my tarrying to partake of the wedding-dinner to be given on this occasion. The invitation was accordingly offered to me, and I was too deeply impressed with gratitude for the kindness of my young female pleaders, to whom I was indebted for so happy an escape from threatened danger, not to accept it, although I dreaded every moment of detention as pregnant with still greater evil.

It was at the close of the afternoon prayers that the company, who consisted of all the males of the village, to the number of more than a hundred men and boys, began to seat themselves on the ground, on each side of a long cloth spread out as a table. While the

dishes were placing on this rural board, I kept myself busily employed in rubbing down, watering, and feeding my horse, in order to avoid, as much as possible, observation and inquiry; but when the master of the feast came, I was seated as the "stranger guest" immediately beside him; and on the ejaculation of "B'Ism Illah" being uttered, I dipped my fingers into the same dish, and had the choicest bits placed before me by his own hands, as a mark of my being considered a friend or favourite; for this is the highest honour that can be shewn to any one at an Eastern feast.*

* Two interesting passages of Scripture derive illustration from this trait of eastern manners. The first, is that in which the Saviour says, "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room,* lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him; and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, Give this man place: and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee." (Luke, c. xiv. v. 8—10.) In a country where the highest importance is attached to this dis-

* The word "room," in this passage, means place or station, and not apartment.

All eyes were upon me, as a stranger; I did not understand Koordish, and could speak barely enough of Turkish, to communicate my most common wants, while none of the party present understood more of Arabic than I did of the last-named tongue. This circumstance was, indeed, rather favourable than otherwise to my present purpose, as no one seemed to entertain a doubt of the purity of my faith. I was, however, a stranger, and alone; and, although I enjoyed the protection of the Sheikh as long as I continued under his roof, yet the instant that I quitted it, I

tinction, the propriety of this advice is much more striking than if applied to the manners of our own; and the honour is still as much appreciated throughout Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, at the present day, as it was in those of the Messiah. The other passage is that, in which, at the celebration of the passover, Jesus says, (Matt. c. xxvi. v. 23.) "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me." As there are but very few, and these always the dearest friends, or most honoured guests, who are seated sufficiently near to the master of the feast to dip their hands in the same dish with him, (probably not more than four out of the twelve disciples at the last supper enjoyed this privilege,) the baseness of the treachery is much increased, when one of these few becomes a betrayer; and in this light, the conduct of Judas was, no doubt, meant to be depicted by this pregnant expression.

should become a fair prey to any party, who might consider me worth plundering. I was persuaded, from the nature of many of the inquiries that were made of me, from many individuals of the assembly, as to the route I intended to take, the nature of the errand which could thus justify my travelling alone, and similar remarks, that, even during this feast, of which we were all common partakers, plans were thought of for intercepting me on my way. I was as reserved, however, in my communications, and as cautious in my answers, as I could well be, without giving offence, though I had made up my mind to go by a different route from that by which we had come, if this were at all practicable. I dared not ask this, even of my host, who, after I had quitted his roof, was as likely as any other person to betray me. To be found alone in conversation with either of his daughters, would be certain death to both of us: I contrived, however, by calling to one of them as she passed, to bring me a jar of water, to avail myself of her information; and as we stood at a sufficient distance from the assembly to be heard by none, though seen by all, I was enabled to ask and receive from her all the

information I needed on this point, by which I learnt the existence of a more westerly road than that pursued by my Koord guide, on our way to Diarbekr.

The feast being ended, after thanking the Sheikh for his kindness, I remounted my steed, with anxious thoughts, and pursued the beaten track by which we had come from Mardin, until I was entirely out of sight from the village, when I crossed over a by-path which had been described to me by the Sheikh's daughter, and got, at length, into the more westerly road, leading to Burnisht.

It was near sun-set when I reached this village, which was larger than either of those through which I had yet passed. It was seated in a hollow, between hills, and had a small castle, or fortified dwelling, which was occupied by the chief, Mustapha Aga, who commanded the district for a short distance around him, and was as much feared as the most powerful sovereign could be within his own dominions. My ignorance of the road beyond this station obliged me to halt here; and, as I could not make the necessary inquiries without being questioned in my turn, I was obliged to use the same precautions as I

had done at Sushoaf. The master of the house at which I stopped listened to my tale; and, as his own family and friends were now assembled about him to supper, I was invited to alight and partake of their fare, while a lad was sent to take care of my horse during the meal. Very pressing solicitations were used to prevail on me to pass the night here, and set out for Mardin in the morning, as they insisted that I should certainly lose my way by night, and could not divine the cause of such heedless running into danger. I yielded to their entreaties, only so far, however, as to take an hour's nap after supper, and then remounted, to pursue my way alone.

It was about nine o'clock when I quitted Burnisht, and, going through narrow ravines and winding valleys, I soon found myself so embarrassed with the difficulty of tracing the beaten road, for the purpose of which I had alighted, and walked on a considerable distance on foot, that I lay down on the ground, in despair of being able to find my way, until the day broke. As there was a portion of the soil covered with high corn, I unbridled my horse, and taking in my hand the long halter used on such occasions, suffered him to range

within its length, and feed at pleasure, while, rolling myself up in my cloak, and stretching myself along on the grass, I enjoyed a welcome sleep.

From this I was soon disturbed, however, by the barking of dogs, which from their number seemed to betoken the neighbourhood of a village ; and rousing myself to listen more attentively, I could trace the sounds distinctly, as coming from the summit of one of the neighbouring hills. I bridled my horse and remounted, and, notwithstanding the difficulty which still existed of finding any path, I went on, directing my footsteps constantly towards the point from which the sounds came, and, after about an hour's fatiguing scramble, at length reached the habitations of the village. As it was now midnight, most of the villagers were asleep ; but one of them, who was apparently on the watch to guard the flocks of the rest, after expressing many suspicions of my intentions in travelling thus alone, and at such an hour of the night, at length offered me shelter, and advised my remaining until the morning before I renewed my way. The difficulty I had already experienced induced me readily to listen to this advice, and I

accordingly halted here beneath his humble shed.

June 29th.—The dawn had hardly yet opened before I was again on horseback, and quitting Kufferdell, as this small village was called, I bent my way over hills and bare ground, until, soon after sun-rise, I came to the edge of some cliffs, overhanging a deep valley, beyond which I now saw Mardin but a short distance to the east-north-east.

Winding down the steep sides of these cliffs, and crossing the valley below, I entered the gates of the town about an hour after sun-rise, and hastened immediately to the bazār, to inquire after the caravan. This I learnt had departed on the morning of yesterday, and as it was intended to push on by forced marches towards Mousul, it was thought that no hope remained of my overtaking it on the way, unless it made a halt at Nisibeen.

I now repaired to the dwelling of the Syrian Patriarch, and from hence we despatched messengers to the villages on the plain, to ascertain precisely at what hour the caravan departed from thence, what route they intended to take, how their halts would be regulated,

and all other particulars regarding them. In the meantime, we employed ourselves quite as actively in town, in endeavouring to find out whether any unfortunate passenger had, like myself, been left behind, and if so, whether he would be willing to join me in setting out after the caravan; as well as to learn whether I could, by any and what other means, resume my journey with a hope of success.

After strict search we discovered, that a horse-dealer of this place had about fifty horses, which he was desirous of getting marched to Mousul as speedily as possible; but that, like myself, he had lost the caravan by a few hours only, while he was willing to incur some risk in endeavouring to join it. Our condition was exactly similar to that of vessels left behind in port, and who, having lost their convoy, were obliged either to hazard something in sailing alone after the fleet, or incur all the loss and detention of waiting for another commodore. The prospects of any better, or even equally advantageous, opportunity seemed to us, in this case, so faint, that we soon made up our minds to make the best of the present occasion. After taking a hasty refreshment, therefore, and

allowing my poor horse, now almost knocked up from fatigue, to catch a short repose, I took leave of my Christian friends, and repaired to join the troop of horses at the khan.

After the prayers of El Assr, we mounted, and quitted the town of Mardin. Our party consisted of the horse-dealer, two drivers, and myself, with about fifty spirited and unsaddled horses. We went out by the south-east road, and drank at a fountain of excellent water in our way, when we descended to the foot of the hill, and, gaining the beaten path, continued our course over the plain. It was near sun-set when we reached the village of Harim, where there were about a hundred dwellings, all occupied by families of Koords. We repaired to the house of the Sheikh, who spread carpets for us, and gave us a welcome reception, cheering us with the prospect of our overtaking the caravan at Nisibeen, and doing all in his power to render our situation agreeable.

June 30th.—After a night of imperfect repose, being hourly disturbed by the breaking loose of the horses, and their fighting with each other, we began to saddle our steeds,

and prepare for starting at day-light, and just as the sun rose we mounted to proceed on our journey.

We continued our march in a south-easterly direction across the plain, and, in less than two hours after our setting out, were overtaken by two Tartars from Constantinople going to Bagdad, in charge of papers from the British Consul General at that capital, to the East-India Company's Resident at Bagdad. They had left Diarbekr on the evening of the same day that I had quitted it in the morning, and had there heard of my inquiries after Tartars. They were accompanied by a young Bagdad merchant, named Suliman, who was returning home with them; and they had each of them official orders on the Konaukchīs, or post-horse suppliers on the road, for such horses as they might require, these supplies being furnished by an annual contract to all the Sultan's messengers that may be in need of them.

As soon as I ascertained this to be the case, I disclosed myself to the chief of these Tartars, who was called Yunus, or Jonas, and presented to him the general letter of Mr. Barker, addressed to any of the Government Tartars,

selves, than the more northern Koords among whom we had sojourned; they were all well dressed, and wore a profusion of silver ornaments, in the shape of bracelets, anklets, and rings; but their lips were stained with a blue colour, after the fashion of the Arabs of the Desert.

We quitted this village of Amooda about ten o'clock, and still continued south-easterly over the plain. The harvest was now gathering in by reapers, who worked with the sickle in the right hand, and grasped the stalks of the corn with the left, as in Europe; the practice of plucking up the whole by the root, as described in a former page, not prevailing here. Horses were used, in the open air, to tread out the corn, in the manner in which oxen usually are in other Eastern countries. These were not muzzled during their labours, but were suffered to eat as they worked, and enjoy the reward of their hire, which they seemed to do without impeding the labour itself. We noticed here a singular kind of locust, which, while it stood on the ground, was of the same shape and colour as the common locust seen in large flocks; but when it expanded its wings for

flight, it exhibited a body and wings as beautifully, as variously, and as brilliantly coloured, as those of the gayest butterfly. This locust was not much smaller in size than the large locusts of Egypt and Syria, but it was said to be always seen single, or in such small numbers as to lead to the belief that they never associated in hosts as the destructive locusts do.

Continuing our march over the plain, we had on our right, or to the south of us, at a great distance off, the mountain of Sinjār, a lofty range, high in the middle and tapering down at both ends till it lost itself in the plain.* To the left, or on the north, was the longer and lower ridge of Mardin, distant only

* "Au midi dè Mardin s'éleve la montagne de *Singiar*, qui a été de tout temps la terreur des caravanes; elle peut avoir quatorze lieues de longueur, et s'étend du nord-est au sud-ouest dans une plaine immense, qui aux mois de Mars et d'Avril n'est qu'une prairie charmante, tapissée de verdure, parsemée de fleurs odoriférantes, et arrosée de plusieurs sources que la fonte des neiges convertit souvent en larges et impétueux torrens. Le sommet de cette montagne offre un terrain plat et fertile, où serpentent et murmurent mille ruisseaux agréables. L'orge et le millet y viennent en abondance; les raisins et les figues qu'il produit, sont renommés par leur beauté et leur goût exquis."—*Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, p. 96, 97.

three or four miles, and running nearly in the direction of our march, or about south-east. It was amidst these hills, as we passed them, that we saw a large ruined town, with a castle, called Benaweel; near to which, in the same direction, is Dāra, or Kara Dara, an ancient post of some importance, now in ruins, but still possessing extensive remains, according to the report of two of our party who had often been there.

A description of the situation and construction of this fortress, as well as of its importance, is given by Gibbon, on the authority of Procopius, in his History of the Persian War.*

* After enumerating the loss as sustained by the Greek emperor Anastasius, in his contests with the Persian Kobad, he says, "To avert the repetition of the same evils, Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong, that it should defy the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria, that its stationary troops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose, the town of Dara, fourteen miles from Nisibis, and four days' journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned: the hasty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and, without insisting on places less important, the fortifications of Dara may represent the military architecture of the age. The city was surrounded with two walls, and the interval between them,

It has been affirmed, says the historian of Persia, that this fortress answered the purpose for which it was built, for sixty years; but we must determine, before we adopt this conclusion, how its erection provoked those attacks which it so long resisted, and which at last

of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the battle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty: it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loop-holes, from whence an enemy might be annoyed with missile weapons, were small, but numerous; the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty, but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard, rocky soil resisted the tools of the miners; and on the south-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of a half-moon. The double and treble ditches were filled with a stream of water; and, in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to prevent the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Dara continued, more than sixty years, to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires."—*Gibbon*, vol. vii. p. 139. 8vo.

brought ruin, not only on it, but upon all the Roman towns and territories in its vicinity.*

About thirty years afterwards, when Chosroes, the son of Kobad, received the ambassadors of Justinian, the successor of Constantine, it is said that he accepted of them eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace. Some mutual exchanges were then regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucasus, and the demolition of Dara was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East.†

In little more than the same period of time, or about seventy years after its first foundation, when the contests between Rome and Persia were still continued, it fell before the arms of the latter.‡

* Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 135. A. D. 531.

† Gibbon, vol. vii. c. 43, p. 308.

‡ Nushervan, or Chosroes, conducted in person the siege of Dara; and, although that important fortress had been left destitute of troops and magazines, the valour of the inhabitants resisted for months the elephants and the military engines of the great king. In the mean while, his general, Adarman, advanced from Babylon, traversed the Desert, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of

In the beginning of the seventh century, or nearly a hundred years after Dara had been first founded, the generals of Khoosroo Purveez, who had been first restored to the Persian throne after his defeat and flight into Tartary, invaded the Roman territories, to avenge the death of the Emperor Maurice, whom Khoosroo had publicly adopted as his father. In the state to which the empire was then degraded, says the historian, by the rule of the centurion Phocas, who had been advanced to the purple by a despicable faction, and whose authority was hardly acknowledged beyond the walls of his capital, little opposition was made to the sudden and formidable invasion of the Persians. Dara, Edessa, and other strong places on the frontier, were soon subdued; Syria was completely pillaged, Palestine overrun, Jerusalem taken, and the true cross which had been enclosed in a golden case and buried deep in the earth, was discovered, and borne in triumph to Persia; and the historians of that country, who give us these details,

Antioch, reduced to ashes the city of Apamea, and laid the spoils of Syria at the feet of his master, whose perseverance, in the midst of winter, at length subverted the bulwark of the East.—Gibbon, vol. viii. c. 46, p. 174.

add, that the sacred relic was attended by a crowd of captive priests and bishops.*

Of this "Dara in the Mountains," as it is called, in the road from Mardin to Nisibeen, mention is made, in the Persian history of the Sassanian kings, by Mirkhond. It is there said, that Noushirvan the Just, or Kesra, entered the province of Jezeereh, the tract comprised between the Tigris and Euphrates, and forming the ancient Mesopotamia, where he subdued the cities of Dara and Edessa, and afterwards conquered Kennasserin and Aleppo.†

Procopius fixes the distance of Dara from Mardin at ninety eight stadia, which, at seven stadia to the mile, (the proportion used in the Lower Empire, and the standard used by Procopius generally,) gives exactly fourteen miles. This, though it seems to have been rejected by D'Anville, who has doubled it in order to reconcile it with other distances of a place called Daras,‡ sixty miles south of Amadia, and fifteen from Nisibeen, according to the authorities of Marcellinus, Cedrenus,

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 157.

† De Sacy's Memoires, p. 366. 4to.

‡ D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre.

and Edrisi, is, nevertheless, as near the truth as possible, since the distance is reckoned to be a journey of five or six hours from Mardin, which, as it is in a mountainous and stony tract, cannot be more than fourteen or fifteen miles, which is about its distance also from Nisibeen.

The ruins at this place consist chiefly of military fortifications, walls, and fine cisterns for the preservation of water; and all around it are excavated sepulchres, in which sarcophagi, of the Roman fashion, are still to be found. In Cedrenus, it is called Anastasiopolis, and it is found under that appellation in many other writers; but its original name of Dara, which it bore before it was built on, has outlived that of its founder.*

The Daras of the geographers before cited, the distance of which, as given by them from known points, induced D'Anville to alter to that of Dara, which he supposes to be the same place, is likely, I think, to be some other

* L'Empereur Anastase, dans un règne agité des troubles interieurs, depuis l'an 491 jusqu'en 517, fit construire dans l'emplacement d'un petit lieu, nommé Dara, un place très forte, à laquelle il donna son nom.—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre.*

station. This also may be said of the Dara, which Callistus places between two rivers, since, according to the report of the people here, there are no streams that run by the Dara in question, nor is it indeed likely, from the local features of the spot; while one might infer, from the number of cisterns found there to preserve rain-water, that it could not be near a river, as these would then have been useless. Probably one of these places may be the Daracardin, or Dadacardin, of Tavernier, at which he halted, after thirty-seven hours' travelling, from Orfah, and nineteen hours before he reached Mardin. He says of it, "This appears to have been a great town, but is all ruined; nor is there any thing remaining but a long stone bridge, very well built, under which runs a river that is very broad when it overflows. The people of the country have no other habitations than the hollows of rocks."* This circumstance, of the existence of caverns, being one feature of resemblance to the Dara of Anastasius, has occasioned them to be confounded; but the place of Tavernier is between Orfah and Mardin, or *west* of the latter; whereas, the Dara of the Romans was

* Travels of Tavernier, p. 68. London, 1678, folio.

between Mardin and Nisibeen, or *east* of the former. Its having a river, and a bridge over it, makes it probable, however, that Daracardin was the place which Callistus places between two streams, more particularly as the distance of this place from Nisibeen does not at all accord with that of the Roman Dara. It may be worthy of remark, that as Dara was rather an appellative than a proper name, and signified, in the Persian language, royal, or sovereign,* it was likely to be applied to many places which were either royal, from being founded by emperors or kings, or deserving the title from their military importance.

It was near noon, after a journey of eight hours' brisk walking for the horses, or about forty miles from Mardin, that we reached the town of Nisibeen, where we found the caravan encamped. We halted here to join them, and learned that they had arrived thus far on the preceding evening, but were detained to-day in adjusting the claims, and softening down, if possible, the pretensions of the chief, who demanded an exorbitant tribute. When we alighted, this dispute was at

* Bibliothèque Orientale, tome i. p. 565.

its height, and we had just arrived in time to be made partakers of the evils it involved. The inferior persons of the caravan had been already pillaged of whatever they had worth taking. Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was ordered to pay fifteen hundred piastres, exactly half the sum at first demanded; and I was compelled to pay two hundred and fifty for myself, while the Tartars, who are on all occasions more exempt from these arbitrary demands than other passengers, were obliged to pay each fifty piastres, before they could be suffered to proceed. The horse-dealer had a toll levied on his horses, to the amount of several piastres per head, but I could not learn the exact sum, though it was loudly complained of as unusually oppressive. There was no remedy, however, for any of us, but quietly to pay the sums demanded, and even then to thank those robbers for our lives, as this Sheikh Farsee, as he was called, was the absolute sovereign of all the territory, from this to the neighbourhood of Mardin.

In directing an inquiry, as to the state of the road farther on, it appeared, from all we could collect, that there were still more dangers to encounter than those we had already

left behind us; and other chiefs were spoken of, who, from being more powerful than Sheikh Farsee, would not content themselves, without a proportionately larger tribute than he had received from us. Whether this was true or false, the impression created by it was such, that even the Tartars would not prosecute their journey alone, notwithstanding the importance to them of expedition, but determined to abide with the caravan, for the sake of enjoying its protection, so that we all now clung together for mutual aid.

Towards the evening, I left the tent of the Hadjee, to make an excursion around the ruins of former days, which are found in abundance here. Though I saw much at a distance, the insolence and jealousy of the inhabitants were such as to prevent my entering into the town, and, consequently, to deprive me of the power of examining any thing closely, or seeing much in detail. Some particulars of the present state of this settlement were, however, collected, and these will serve at least to contrast with those which are related of its former importance.*

* In the Description of the Pachalik of Bagdad, the situation and condition of Nisibin is thus briefly men-

The first foundation of Nisibeen mounts up to an antiquity beyond even the reach of records; since it is thought, by some learned divines,* to be one of the places enumerated in the Scriptures, as built by Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord."†

Its name is more frequently written "Nesibis," on the medals which are preserved of it. It is found to be written "Nisibis" in Greek authors, while the present pronunciation of the name, "Nisibeen," or "Nesbin," is said, by

tioned:—"Sans m'arrêter aux villages de la dépendance de Moussol, je passe à *Nissibin*, ville qui en est éloignée d'environ quarante-deux lieues. Cette cité célèbre, à laquelle les Grecs donnèrent le surnom de *seconde Antioche*, à cause de sa situation délicieuse, fut prise, comme on le sait par Lucullus sur Tigrane, du temps de la guerre de Mithridate, et devint le boulevart de l'Empire Romain, contre les Parthes et les Perses. Il n'en reste aujourd'hui que quelques masures qui servent seulement à indiquer le lieu où elle a existé. Des Arabes y habitent, et une petite rivière, qui est apparemment le Migdonius, en fertilise les plaines. Le site de Nissibin, son climat, et la beauté de son terroir, la rendent encore digne de la célébrité dont elle a joui autrefois; elle est sous la régie du *vaivode* de Mardin, dépendant lui-même du pacha de Bagdad, qui le nomme et le dépose à son gré."—p. 92, 93.

* See Cellarius Anc. Geog. p. 448. 4to.

† The cities attributed to Nimrod are as numerous throughout Mesopotamia and Babylonia as those attributed

D'Anville, to be in conformity to Abulfeda, the Arabian geographer.*

Its situation is very clearly marked, as being in the northern part of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates; though it has been placed on the banks of the former by some geographers, who have confounded this river with the stream that runs by it.† This stream, according to the most modern maps, is made to discharge itself into the

to Pharaoh are in Egypt, or those to Solomon in Palestine and Syria. Among others, was the city of Samarah, one of the most famous in eastern annals. "This city," observes Mr. Beckford, "is supposed to have stood on the site where Nimrod erected his tower. Khondemir relates, in his Life of Motassem, that this prince, to terminate the disputes which were perpetually happening between the inhabitants of Bagdad and his Turkish slaves, withdrew from thence, and, having fixed on a situation in the plain of Catoul, there founded Samarah. He is said to have had, in the stables of this city, a hundred and thirty thousand *pied horses*, each of which carried, by his order, a sack of earth, to a place he had chosen. By this accumulation an elevation was formed that commanded a view of all Samarah, and served for the foundation of his magnificent palace."—*Notes to the Caliph Vathek.*

* Ammianus Marcellinus says, "Nisibis jam indè à Mithridaticis regni temporibus ne Oriens a Persis occuparetur, viribus restitit maximis."—lib. 25.

† See Cellarius Anc. Geog. p. 448. 4to.

Euphrates; but, by the more ancient map of Cellarius, which corresponds with the opinion and report of the people of the country, it discharges itself into the Tigris. This river of Nisibeen is the Saocaras of Ptolemy, and is formed of several small torrents, which unite together in the neighbourhood of Nisibeen. It was afterwards, under the Seleucides, called Mygdonius, as may be gathered from the Emperor Julian, who says, that the fields, in the neighbourhood of the walls of Nisibis, were watered by a river of that name. Under this dynasty, the city was called Antioch, with the addition of Mygdonia, which was then applied to the whole of this part of Mesopotamia.*

* The change of names in places of antiquity presents continual obstacles to accurate deductions in ancient geography. The following place, mentioned by Pliny, is thought to be another name for Nisibis, and the tradition attached to the fountain described by him to apply to the springs there. "At Cabura, in Mesopotamia, (which is thought to be Nisibis under another name,) there is a fountain of water, which hath a sweet and redolent smell; setting it aside, I know not any one of that quality in the whole world again. But hereto there belongs a tale, namely, that this spring was privileged with this extraordinary gift, because Juno sometimes bathed and washed herself therein." —*Plin. Nat. Hist.* b. xxxi. c. 3.

It is thought to have been taken, in the Mithridatic war, by the Roman general Lucullus, when he pursued his enemy across the Euphrates, and gave battle, on the plains of Mesopotamia, to the numerous forces which Tigranes had assembled to support the cause of his son-in-law; when, according to Plutarch, one hundred thousand foot and fifty-five thousand horse of the Asiatic forces were slain, by an army of only eighteen thousand Romans, little more than a century before the Christian era.

About two centuries afterwards, the Emperor Trajan, in the prosecution of the Parthian war, when he overran all Mesopotamia and Assyria, took Nisibis, among his other conquests, which, according to Dion Cassius, extended as far as Ecbatana; where, when he had obtained victories over unknown nations, and found himself on the borders of India, he lamented that he possessed not the vigour and youth of an Alexander, that he might add unexplored provinces and kingdoms to the Roman empire.*

* In the history of Artabanes, King of Parthia, and his restoration, as given by Josephus, the historian says, "And thus was Artabanes restored to his kingdom, by the means

After Shapoor had conquered the greater part of the Jezeereh,* he marched against Nisibis, which long resisted his efforts to subdue it. According to Persian authors,† this celebrated fortress was at last taken, more through the effect of the prayers, than the arms, of his soldiers. For, wearied with the siege, Shapoor commanded his army to unite in supplications to the Divinity for its fall; and Persian authors state that the wall actually fell as they were imploring Heaven for success.‡

of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off the large and fruitful country of Nisibis from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. Here the Macedonians had formerly built that city, which they called Antioch of Mygdonia."—*Antiquities of the Jews*, b. xx. c. 3. s. 3. A. D. 45.

* Jezeereh means an Island, and is here applied in that sense to the countries included between the Euphrates and Tigris, the Mesopotamia of the ancients.

† Zeenut ul Tuarikh.

‡ History of Persia, vol. i. p. 98, from De Sacy's Memoires, p. 289. A. D. 260.

An unsuccessful attempt on this place by Sapor is described by Gibbon, from the Orations of Julian, as taking place about the year 338 of the Christian era. This, however, was Shapoor the Second, of the Persian historians, (between whom and his predecessor of the same name six sovereigns had intervened,) the son of Hormuz, who was crowned in his mother's womb before his birth,—a circumstance noted by all the historians of his life, both Greek and Persian.* The description of these unavailing efforts against the fortress of Nisibis by Sapor, is given in so animated a manner by the historian, who has caught the leading features from the best authorities, and presented the whole as a glowing picture of his own, that the reader, who feels sufficient interest in the subject to desire further details, may receive great gratification on turning to the pages in which these are recorded.†

About twenty-five years after this, according to the chronology of the Persian historians, the Romans invaded Persia, and Sha-

* Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 134; and History of Persia, vol. i. 106.

† See Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. c. 18, pp. 142—145.

poor the Second was called on to defend his country. The Arab tribes, it is said, who were eager for revenge, readily joined the Romans, and their united force amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand men, which were commanded by the celebrated Emperor Julian, himself, in person. Shapoor declined meeting this formidable army at the frontiers, being sensible, that if he suffered a defeat, which their overwhelming numbers rendered probable, he should be ruined. He retreated to one of the interior provinces; and, collecting all the force he could, he advanced to give battle. After a dreadful conflict, in which we are told he made the greatest personal efforts, his army was routed with immense slaughter, and Shapoor himself barely saved his life by flying with a few followers. He soon, however, assembled his army, and recommenced operations, to which he was more encouraged from the retreat of his victorious enemy, in pursuit of whom he advanced into the Roman territory, and sent ambassadors to their emperor with the following message—"I have reassembled my numerous army, I am resolved to revenge those of my subjects who have been plundered, made captives, and slain.

It is for this object, that I have bared my arm and girded my loins. If you consent to pay the price of that blood which has been shed, to deliver up the booty which has been plundered, and to restore the city of Nisibis, which is in Irāk, and properly belongs to our empire, though now in your possession, I will sheath the sword of war; but should you not assent to these terms, the hoofs of my steed, which are as hard as steel, shall efface the name of the Romans from the earth, and my glorious scymitar, that destroys like fire, shall exterminate the people of your empire." According to Persian history, this proud and insulting message had the desired effect. The alarmed Emperor of Constantinople agreed to the terms prescribed, and the famous city of Nisibis was delivered over to Shapoor, who immediately sent a colony of twelve thousand men, drawn from Fars and Irāk, to inhabit it, and to cultivate the lands in its vicinity.*

This emperor was succeeded by Jovian, by whom this fortress was yielded to Shapoor, as part of the cession with which he gladly pur-

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 108, (A. D. 363,) and De Sacy's Memoires, p. 315.

chased a peace.* The entry of Jovian into Nisibis, and the sufferings of the inhabitants, who were ordered to evacuate it in three days, are described by Ammianus, who was present at the scene.† This irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation, and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace which it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Shapoor, were restored to the Persian monarch. He acquired by a single article the impregnable city of Nisibis, which had sustained in three successive sieges the effort of his arms.‡

It was, however, wrested from the hands of the Persians about thirty years afterwards, according to the date of the reign of the emperor under which it happened. Khosrou Parviz had been fourteen years on the throne when the Greeks conspired against their emperor, and killed him, with his son Theodosius. There was another son of his at the court of

* D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 52.

† Book xxv. s. 9, v. 2. pp. 406—408.

‡ Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 24, p. 210.

Parviz, and under his command he sent a numerous army into the country of the Greeks, and into Syria. Being entered here, they first possessed themselves of Palestine and Jerusalem. They made prisoners of all the bishops who were at the Holy City, with many other persons, possessed themselves of the true cross, which was shut up in a case of gold and buried underneath the earth, and sent it to Parviz, in Persia. They then, in the same manner, rendered themselves masters of Alexandria and Nubia, and having entered the territory of Constantinople, committed great havoc. The Greeks, however, would not acknowledge the son, but named Heraclius their emperor, who, on the strength of a favourable dream, assembled an army at Constantinople, and marched as far as Nisibeen. Parviz sent twelve thousand men against them; but, in a battle there, they were defeated, with the loss of six hundred, besides their commander.*

Ferakhsad, however, one of the sons of Khosrou Parviz, who fled his country from fear of the reigning prince, made Nisibeen

* De Sacy's Memoires sur divers Antiquités de la Perse, p. 402. 4to. A. D. 394.

his place of refuge, and found protection there.*

It is acknowledged to have been the most important of all the places in Mesopotamia; and its name of "Nisibin," in the plural, is said to denote "posts, or military stations."† In Syriac, the name, in the plural, signifies "a place of columns;" but in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, it implies, in the singular, a military post.‡ Either of these etymologies would be sufficiently consistent with its former state and history to be adopted, since the greatest part of its importance arose from its value as a military post; and as the residence of emperors, nobles, and generals, it was decorated with many columned edifices in the architecture of the time.

When the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela travelled through Mesopotamia, in 1173, he visited "Netsibin," as he himself writes it, and describes it as being then a large city, having rivers near it in abundance, and containing an assembly of a thousand Jews.§ The notice

* De Sacy's Memoires, p. 415. 4to.

† D'Anville Comp. Anc. Geog. p. 434. 8vo.

‡ D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 52. 4to.

§ Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle, in Bergeron's Collection, 4to.

given of it by Otter, who travelled nearly six hundred years later, (in 1736,) is very slight;* and no other writers of modern times have given more ample details of its condition.

It has now, however, fallen into great decline. At the present moment it is occupied by about three hundred families of Arabs and Koords, mixed, under the government of Sheikh Farsee, who is himself a Koord horseman, and whose followers are mostly his own countrymen. These are chiefly Mohammedans, who have a mosque for their worship, though there are also a few Christians, who live among them peaceably; but there are

* The following are the brief remarks of Otter on this place:—"Nous partimes le 3 Avril (de Kotche-Hisār,) avec l'Ambassadeur du Grand Seigneur, et campames, après six heures de marche, dans Karadeiré, c'est à dire, la vallée noire, d'où nous allâmes le lendemain en quatre heures à Nisibin, petite ville du territoire des Arabes Rebia, au nord de Sindjar. Le Hermas descend d'une montagne au nord de cette ville, et passe à côté d'elle; l'on me dit qu'il y avoit sur les bordes de cette rivière plus de quarante mille jardins, dans lesquels on trouvoi quantité de roses blanches; mais pas une rouge. En partant de Nisibin, on ne trouve plus ni villes ni villages sur la route; c'est un désert, habité par des Kiurds, des Arabes, et Yézidis, qui volent et maltraitent souvent les passans; ils n'obeissent qu' à leurs Chïeks ou Chefs."—Otter, t. i. p. 121.

now no Jews. The houses of the modern town, which are found erected on the ruins, scarcely exceed a hundred habitable ones, and these are small square buildings of stone and mud, with flat roofs of straw, divided by narrow alleys—for they can scarcely be called streets—and wearing altogether an air of great poverty.

The situation of the town is in a level plain, with the hills of Mardin ranging along on the north, at the distance of from five to ten miles; the high mountain of Sinjār on the south, distant about ten or twelve leagues; and a flat desert country, generally, to the east and west. The town is seated on the western bank of the river Mygdonius, now called merely the river of Nisibeen; and this is still observed to overflow its banks on the falling of the autumnal rains, and the melting of the vernal snows; confirming the accuracy of Julian, who described it as inundating the country near the walls of the city, and watering the neighbouring fields. There are several smaller streams running into this river, near the city itself; which corresponds with what Ptolemy has said of the Saocaras, as quoted before, and mentioned to be the same

with the Mygdonius. It was this circumstance which formerly assisted the inhabitants in their agricultural labours, and still enables them to cultivate a great deal of rice, which requires more water than any other species of grain.

Among the most remarkable of the edifices whose remains are still existing here, is the citadel, a temple, a bridge, and a Roman building, now called the Church of St. James. The citadel may be very ancient; since the fortifications of this city must have been almost coeval with its foundation; but the present edifice presents no marked features of Roman architecture, being, as far as I could perceive from an exterior view, a large building, of the square form usual in Mohammedan works of this nature. The temple, which is without the precincts of the present town, on the south, has five columns still erect, supporting an architrave, a portion, no doubt, of the original portico. It appeared to be of the Corinthian order, but small, and of ordinary execution.* I could not, however, approach

* M. D'Olivier, in passing through this place, saw the columns described; and, after mentioning them, he says, "Un peu plus loin, nous vîmes un bloc de marbre blanc

sufficiently close to this to examine it minutely; for, in going towards it alone, though not more than a quarter of a mile distant from our encampment, I had a cloak, and inner garment, or abba and jubbe, stripped from me by four of the villagers, who were seemingly strolling in search of plunder, and whom I could not afterwards find, to recover the articles, or even to repurchase them.

The bridge is a long and level work of masonry thrown across the river, and supported on twelve arches of Roman work; the pathway, or platform, of the bridge being not more than ten feet above the level of the stream. It resembles the bridge seen near Khallet el Hhearin, on the road from Antioch to Aleppo, and, like it, was no doubt originally of Roman construction, though it has undergone repairs, in later times, from Mohammedan workmen; and this portion of it is now in a still more ruined condition than the more ancient one.

et gris, presque entièrement enfoui, sur lequel il y avait une inscription Latine, très effacée. Nous ne pûmes lire que les trois mots suivans—'Currus . . . . victoriam stadii' . . . . . C'était, peut-être là, le stade, où se faisaient les courses des chevaux."—vol. iv. p. 243. 8vo.

The church, which is dedicated to St. James, formerly a Bishop of Nisibeen, and a zealous opposer of the Arian heresy, is thought by some to have been originally constructed for a place of Christian worship, about the fourth century, and dedicated, on its first building, to the bishop whose name it bears.* Others, however, suppose it to have been originally a temple of the Romans or Greeks, which was subsequently converted into a church, when the Christians became masters of the country.† I had no opportunity of entering it myself, or of seeing sufficient of it to offer an opinion on this question.

The river, near which the city of Nisibis stood, is still a considerable stream, augmented as it is by several tributary ones in its course. It rises in the hills to the northward, and goes away south and south-east from hence, till its junction with the Khaboor, below Sinjār, with which, according to some, it runs ultimately into the Euphrates; though others here insisted on its going alone into the Tigris. It is rapid, deep, and clear; and its waters, which

* Niebuhr's Travels, vol. ii. p. 308. 4to.

† Travels of M. D'Olivier, vol. iv. p. 247. 8vo.

are pure and sweet,* produce several kinds of fine fish, large crabs, and water-snakes, or serpents, like those found in the Arabian Sea, and on the coast of the Concan in India, particularly when approaching the harbour of Bombay.†

On returning to the camp, after my excursion, I found a large party of the inhabitants of the town assembled round the tent of Ḥadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān, and the eternal demand for presents was vociferated from every

* See the Note from Pliny's Natural History, at p. 432.

† In the Voyage of Admiral Van Neck, and Vice-Admiral Van Warwyck, to the East Indies, 1598, 1599, we find the Dutch killing and *eating* a large sea-serpent, near the island of Banda, "Le 8 de Mai, 1599, un serpent d'onze piés de long, ayant passé par un des écubiers du vaisseau Zelande, y fut tué *et mangé*."—*Voyages de la Comp. des Indes*, t. i. p. 567.

Dampier met with sea-snakes about four feet long, four fingers broad, flat tail, and spotted with yellow, on the coast of New Holland. There were also smaller ones, spotted with black and yellow; and others, very long and slender; and some as thick as a man's leg, with a red head. "This," says Pennant, "reminds me of the species described by Arrian, in his 'Periplus Maris Erythræi,' to which he gives black skins, and blood-red eyes."—*Outlines of the Globe*, vol. iv. p. 100.

mouth, but resisted with equal obstinacy. The people of the tribe living here seemed to be more mixed than we had before been accustomed to see them. The men only spoke Arabic, and the women and children Koordi. All were well dressed and clean, and about as many families resided in tents as in houses. The roving portion of the community possessed some of the most beautiful horses that could be seen; and these were chiefly employed in predatory excursions, while the rest of the men remained at home to till the ground, to feed the flocks, and to be employed in the more inglorious task of guarding the harems, or the females and children of their warring brothers.

At night all our difficulties were surmounted, and our departure was fixed for the morrow. A strong watch was set around our tents, formed chiefly of volunteers from among those of the caravan who had the most to lose; but, notwithstanding all our vigilance, many trifling articles were stolen, and muskets and pistols were repeatedly discharged during the night at thieves stealing silently into the camp.

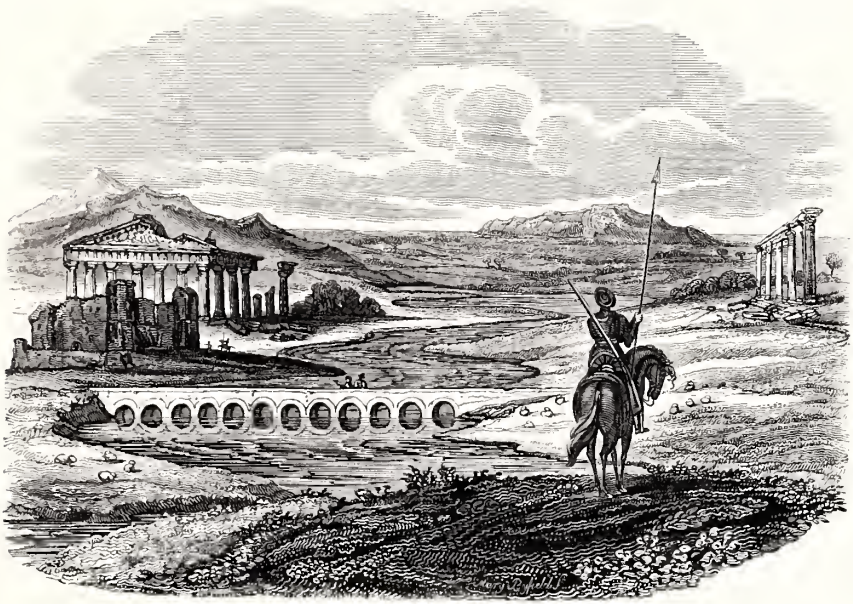
CHAPTER XIII.

FROM NISIBEEN, ACROSS THE PLAIN OF SINJAR.

July 1st.—We began to prepare the burdens of our camels soon after midnight; and by the first opening of the dawn, we were all on our march.

Our course was directed to the east-south-east over the plain. On our left, or to the north of us, we had the range of hills which are continued from Dara eastward, and on which are several villages whose names we could not learn. On the right, or to the south of us, the lofty mountain of Sinjār rose from the desert plain, and seemed to be now distant from us about forty or fifty miles. The level tract between was like a spacious sea, with rocks and islets scattered over its surface. These small hills seem to be, in

CHAPTER XIII.



ANCIENT

GREEK AND ROMAN REMAINS ON THE RUINED SITE OF NISIBEEN.

many instances, artificial, and are always chosen as the sites of villages, for the purpose of greater security, and a more ready view of approaching danger.

After a march of two hours, we reached a small village, on an eminence, called Tal el Schiaire, or the Hill of Corn. The few houses seen were in shape like the long barns of English farm-yards, thatched with sloping roofs of straw. The people, who were all Koords, lived chiefly, however, in tents; so that these buildings were mostly uninhabited, and kept probably for store-houses of grain.

In two hours from this, pursuing the same course, we passed through another place, called Theat Khalif Aga, or the Village of Khalif Aga, the name of the chief who resided here. It was seated on a smaller eminence than the former, and contained about fifty houses, but more than a hundred tents were pitched around it.

Just before noon we came to a similar village, called Doogher, where we made our halt for the day. We remarked that all these villages resembled each other in their chief local features; all were seated on rising

grounds, each had a stream of water running near it from the northward, and in all of them were wells for the supply of this necessary article, when the brooks might be dried up and the streams fail. In our way from Nisibeen thus far, we saw several villages on our right and left, but I could not learn their names. The last and largest, however, of these was one now nearly abreast of us, called Azrowar, and standing on a higher elevation than either of the others.

In forming our halt, the place chosen for our encampment was by a small stream of water descending from the northern hills, and going to the southward to join the waters of Nisibeen. On the bank of this was killed, by one of our party, a large black serpent, of about nine feet in length, and nearly a foot in girth around the largest part of the body. It is said to prey chiefly on lizards, of which there are here many small ones of a very beautiful kind.*

* Otter mentions a poisonous serpent found near Tchemen, not far from the lesser Zab, whose bite proved fatal in the course of an hour:—"A notre arrivée à cet endroit un Persan alla couper de l'herbe sur le bord de l'eau, et fut mordu à la main par un serpent. Au cri qu'il fit, on

Our tent was scarcely pitched, before there poured down from the northern hills a troop of about fifty horsemen, all mounted on beautiful animals, and armed with long lances. The caparisons of some of these were rich, and even splendid, and a few of the chief among the riders were also superbly dressed. They formed, indeed, by far the most respectable body of men in appearance that we had yet seen on our way. The whole of these were followers of Khalif Aga, the head of a very numerous body of horse in this quarter, and, according to report, the most powerful chieftain between Orfah and Mousul. There were among this party two little boys, who could not have been more than ten years old, but who rode with as much firmness and ease, and wielded their lances, and discharged their pistols, with as much dexterity as any of the rest; and had, if pos-

accourut avec des sabres et des haches, croyant qu'il étoit tombé dans quelque embuscade des Kiurds; on le trouva étendu sur l'herbe, s'agitant, écumant comme s'il fut tombé du haut-mal; son bras enflé et noir fit bientot connoître la cause du mal. On decouvrit à quelques pas de lui un serpent monstreux qui fut mis en pièces. La thériaque et les contre-poisons qu'on donna à l'homme furent inutiles; il mourut une heure après."—tome i. p. 149.

sible, still more boldness in their behaviour to strangers. They were all Koords, and we remarked in them a roundness of feature that was much more approaching to European than to Asiatic physiognomy, particularly when contrasted with the long and prominent features of the Arabs. Their complexions too were as fair as those of Englishmen, though, in all, the eyes and hair were dark. Their dress was in fashion a mixture of Turkish and Arabian, but inclining more to the latter; many of them, however, wore gold ear-rings, which is rather a custom of the Indians than of either of the people before named.

The reception given in our tent, to the chief of this party, was like that of a man to whom all owed unlimited submission. Every one seemed to acknowledge him, as far as obsequious humility can express that feeling, to be the absolute master of their lives and property. One among his suite, whose appearance was more ruffian-like than that of any other of his comrades, was selected by this chief for the duty of inspecting the goods of the caravan. This duty he performed, while his superior threw himself along upon

his carpet, beneath the tent, attended by his followers, who formed a complete circle around him.

On the report of this inspector, a contribution of two thousand Spanish dollars was fixed as the amount to be paid by the whole caravan; the proportion in which it was to be contributed by each was left to be settled among ourselves. There was at least an hour's strong remonstrance against this arbitrary demand of a sum which all confessed their inability to pay; and some even said, "Take every thing, all that we possess, and leave us naked. It will be less troublesome to us all, and effectually prevent the pillage of the next band of robbers, who, if you leave us any thing remaining, will be sure to lighten us of our burthens." It was not these remonstrances, however, but a conviction that the original sum could not be raised, which induced the chief at length to lower his demand to two thousand five hundred piastres, or about £125 sterling. Of this, the Hadjee Abd-el-Rakhmān was obliged to pay the half, and the remainder was left to be raised among the rest of the caravan. As we were now few in number, and the great mass even of these

had not wherewithal to answer the exorbitant claims of these freebooters, I was compelled to pay, for my own share, no less than three hundred piastres, part of which I was obliged to borrow from the young nephew of my friend, Hadjee Abd-el-Ateef, my own ready cash being all expended, and having nothing now but my bills on Mousul and Bagdad left.

One would have expected, that after this sum was produced, which it was with some difficulty, and presented in hard and bright coin, they would have left us to repose in peace. But the possession of the glittering treasure served only to excite new desires for more; and it seemed to me that we were now in danger of complete pillage. The Hadjee had already laid out his presents before the chief, on his first entering the tent, after the usage of the country; and these were sufficiently rare and valuable to have been offered to a Sultan. Others were, however, now demanded; and some of the bales of goods, that had hitherto remained untouched, were even opened, to search for something worthy the acceptance of this insatiable marauder. Nothing was found that suited his caprice; and when he discovered that he himself was not likely

to be individually benefited by further plunder, he began to affect a regard for justice, and desired that all "private property," as he called it, might be respected!

Notwithstanding this positive injunction, from a leader, whom, in all other respects, his followers seemed implicitly to obey, the inferior persons of the troop wandered through the caravan, and secretly pilfered what they did not venture to take in public. The saddle and bridle of my horse, which were purchased new at Aleppo, and still in good riding order, were literally stolen from off the animal's back; a mare, with all her furniture, was taken from another of the caravan; and many things of smaller value from others, who had not the power to defend themselves from this arbitrary pillage of the troop, and who had no hope of redress from an appeal to their commander.

These men thus hung about our camp until sun-set, when they left us, all labouring under the dread of their paying us another visit before we finally quitted their neighbourhood. We learnt, that Khalif Aga, the great leader, and most of the petty chiefs of these Koord horsemen, were Moslems; but that the vil-

lagers dwelling in houses, including those of the plain and the hills, were Christians. It is asserted, that this chief can bring twenty thousand horse into the field under his banner ; and, though this may be an exaggeration, for the sake of approaching to round numbers, the force which he can command is no doubt very considerable.*

* To shew that the character of the people, and the dangers of travellers in these parts, have been the same for more than two centuries past, the following passage from Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's Travels, in 1573, on his way from Mousul to Nisibeen, is worth extracting:

" After our journey had been deferred for four days, we broke up on the eleventh of January several hundred strong, and went on for the whole day without eating, with all speed, until the sun-set at night, when we encamped on an ascent near a small village, to keep our beasts and goods safe, and to refresh ourselves and them. We watched all night long, and went continually, three and three together, round about our camp by turns. The next day we proceeded on again in our journey with all speed, rather for a good fountain or spring's sake, as they do in these countries in the vast deserts, than to reach a good inn, where we arrived late at night, and encamped near it, to stay all night to rest. A little after, when we were at supper, some of the Curters (Koords) came to us into our camp, spoke to us kindly, and asked us whether we did want any thing that they could help us to; but we soon perceived them to be spies, that were sent by their companions, to see what strength we were of. But when they perceived that we

JULY 2nd.—We quitted our station on the plain near Azrowar, with the dawn; and after six hours' continued march over a level tract,

were not pleased with them, they did not stay, but went away, and we composed ourselves to rest, but kept a good guard, as we had done the night before. About midnight, when we were in our first sleep, our watchmen perceived a great number of the Curters to approach, wherefore they awaked us with a great shouting, to alarm us the sooner, and to bring us into good order, and to frighten our enemies, and to drive them away. But they did not only not mind us, but made all haste they could up to us, and that so near that we could see them, although it was dark, before our camp, by their heads. But, when they found us in a good order and condition to oppose them, and did hear that our gunners and archers, which were ready to let fly at them, called with a loud voice to them *Tahal, tahal, Harāmi*, that is, Come hither, come hither, you thieves, &c. they halted for a little while, and were so afraid of us, that they turned their backs and ran away. Afterwards, when we feared nor expected their assault any more, they came quickly again a second time, in a far greater number than before. They led before them one camel and several horses, (which in the dark we could only discern by their heads looking against the sky,) in their hands, without doubt, that we might look upon them as travellers, or else that we might not be able to discern their number. But, notwithstanding all this, their first assault was fresh in memory, wherefore we did not tarry, but drew soon up in our former order again, wherein I was the left-hand man in the first rank again, with my scymitar drawn, and had before armed my breasts with several sheets of paper, that I had brought

going about east-south-east throughout all the way, we made our halt for the night.

In the course of this march we saw many villages, both on our right and left, and went through five similar ones in the direct route, all of them small, and composed of pent-roofed dwellings of the long form before described. The people appeared generally to live in tents; and these long barns, as far as we could perceive, were more frequently used as places of shelter for cattle at night, than as the habitations of families. These villages were all seated on eminences of the plain, and all their doors looked towards the south, the point from which they have the most danger to apprehend. They were, however, all so small and so little known by the people of our caravan, that I could not obtain the names of any of them.

It was in about an hour after our setting out from near Azrowar that we quitted the culti-

with me to dry my plants in, expecting their assault every moment. But, when they had made a halt again, fearing their skin as much as we did ours, and did neither shout nor move up towards us, one of ours provoked them, and did shoot at the camel, and did hit it, so that it gave a sign thereof, but the rest forbore to fire. So they staid a little while, and then went off a second time."—p. 168, 169.—Ray's edition, 8vo.

vated ground, and came again on what was called "El Berreeah," or "the open land." This presented a surface of light dry turf, with a fine soil, and wanted only water to make it highly fertile and fit for immediate cultivation. Passing over this "Berreeah" for another hour, we came again on the basaltic rock, in large black masses, in some parts porous, and in others solid, with one portion particularly close and fine in the grain, but intersected by a vein of highly porous matter, apparently injected or shot through it in a straight line while liquid, and being about two inches wide throughout its whole length. The appearance of this vein was that of a fine sponge, or of dough, as it is seen if cut through while fermenting, or rising, previous to its being baked into bread, full of small holes; while the solid mass, in which this porous or spongy vein was seen, was one of the closest-grained stones that we had met with in our route, and would have borne a polish equal to the finest marble. Both of these substances were of a black colour; the vein, however, was not quite so dark as the solid portion through which it ran. We lost the traces of this basaltic rock in the soil, after a short time, and came again

on cultivated ground, where the harvest was now gathering in.

The name of all this tract of land, over which we had passed to-day, was Belled Chitteea; but, after all my inquiries, I could learn no particular name for any of the villages which we had seen. Each of them, indeed, was small, and being inhabited only during the corn-harvest, was formed of as many tents as fixed dwellings. Though the people thus live in tents, in huts, and in houses, and the Arabic language has particular names for each of these kinds of dwelling, these distinctions are unknown here. In distinguishing the particular class of habitations, of which a settlement is formed, the Arabs call them, Beeoot Hadjar, Beeoot Khashab, and Beeoot Shahr; that is, houses of stone, houses of wood and reeds, and houses of hair: the tents of the true Bedouin Arabs being invariably made of dark hair-cloth, woven from the produce of their flocks in their camps.

The range of hills on which Mardin and Dara are seated continued to run thus far, from west to east, until it terminated abreast of the station of our halt, about eight or ten miles to the northward of us, our course of

east-south-east making an angle with it of nearly two degrees.

This course, while it occasioned us to leave the hills of Mardin at a greater and greater distance on our left, brought us progressively nearer to the mountain of Sinjār on our right. This mountain is considerably higher than the range of hills on the north ; and its elevation above the plain appears, from hence, to be upwards of two thousand feet at least. It rises by sloping capes at either end, gradually growing higher near the centre ; its direction being nearly east and west, and its length apparently about fifty miles. This mountain is here so marked a feature in the geography of Mesopotamia, that it found a place in all the geographical writings of the ancients who treated of this country ;* and continues still to be a landmark for the Desert Arabs, and a place of constant reference by travellers, when speaking of the roads through these plains.

The town of Sinjār, or Singara, which either gave its name to, or derived it from, the mountain itself, was a celebrated military post during the contests for universal empire, of which this was, for a long while,

* See Cellarius, Anc. Geog. p. 441. 4to.

the scene, between the armies of the East and the West. Its name frequently occurs in the histories of these wars, and coins have been found which bore the inscription of this city as a Roman colony.*

When the Emperor Trajan returned through Mesopotamia, after his conquest of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and his visit to the ruins of Babylon, he made war against a tribe of Arabs here, who then formed an independent body in Sinjār. He besieged their capital, which defended itself bravely. The length of the siege, the excessive heat, and the want of water in the plain, engendered diseases in the camp. The emperor himself, indeed, here laid the foundation of the disorder which occasioned his death within the same year, A. D. 117, as he abandoned the enterprise against the Arabs, and returned with all speed through Syria towards Rome. He was unable to proceed any farther, however, than Cilicia, where he ended his days in the town of Selinas, which was afterwards called Trajanopolis, in honour of him.†

* See Cellarius, Anc. Geog. p. 441. 4to.

† Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. xxi. p. 61. 4to. Paris.

The animated description of the contest between the Roman legions under Constantius, and the Persian troops under Sapor, in the battle of Singāra, may be seen in the pages of Gibbon, from which a brief extract only will be given in a note below, to shew the nature of the country, and the evils to which the oppressive climate, and difficulty of procuring supplies of the most ordinary refreshment, had reduced the soldiers of one of the bravest nations that ever yet existed.*

* "The stationary troops of Singara retired on the approach of Sapor, who passed the Tigris, over three bridges, and occupied, near the village of Hillel, an advantageous camp, which, by the labour of his numerous pioneers, he surrounded in one day with a deep ditch, and a lofty rampart. His formidable host, when it was drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river, the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of above twelve miles, which separated the two armies. Both were alike impatient to engage; but the barbarians, after a slight resistance, fled in disorder, unable to resist, or desirous to weary, the strength of the heavy legions, who, fainting with heat and thirst, pursued them across the plain, and cut in pieces a line of cavalry clothed in complete armour, which had been posted before the gates of the camp, to protect their retreat. The sincerity of history declares, however, that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter; and that the flying remnant of the legions was exposed to the most intolerable hardships."—*Gibbon's*

In the invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor, when Constantius was sole Emperor of Rome, after the conquest of Amida, it is said, that the strength as well as spirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing spring, was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified cities of Mesopotamia, Singara, and Bozabdi, the one situated in a sandy desert, the other in a small peninsula, surrounded on every side by the deep and rapid stream of the Tigris.* Five Roman legions, of the diminutive size to which they had been reduced in the age of Constantine, were made prisoners, and sent into remote captivity, on the extreme confines of Persia. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place.†

In the reign of the Emperor Jovian, Singara, and the Castle of the Moors, one of the

History of the Decline and Fall of Rome, vol. iii. pp. 139—142.

* The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus Marcellinus, 20—6, 7.

† Gibbon, vol. iii. c. 19, p. 209.

strongest places in Mesopotamia, were dismembered from the empire; and it was considered as an indulgence, says the same historian, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the Persian conqueror rigorously insisted that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia.

This territory, here known by the name of Sinjār, has been supposed by most writers to be the same with the land of Shinar, mentioned in the Scriptures. Some indeed apply this name to the whole of Mesopotamia.* St. Jerome, more particularly, when he speaks of Arach, or Erech, being Edessa, and Achad, or Accad, being Nisibis,† necessarily supposes this name to extend over the whole of the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, as it is expressly said, "that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."‡ Benjamin of Tudela calls the whole of Mesopotamia by the name of "Senaar," and sup-

* Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 211.

† See Cellarius, Anc. Geog. p. 441 and 448. 4to.

‡ Genesis, c. x. v. 10.

poses it to be the Shinar of the Scriptures.* And Niebuhr also thought it probable, from the affinity of names, that the district of Sinjār at least might be the Shinar of the Pentateuch.† This may explain that passage of the Bible, which, after naming these cities as being *in* the land of Shinar, says, "*Out* of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah. And Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city." Nineveh and Calah are both *out* of that land, or beyond the river Tigris to the eastward; and Resen, which was between them, was necessarily so too; though Cellarius has, in his map, placed this nearly in the heart of Mesopotamia.

D'Anville, who thinks there is some difficulty in acceding to this opinion, of the present name of Sinjār being a corruption of Shinar, or Sinear, and applied to the same tract of country as before,‡ remarks, in another

* Voyage de Benjamin. Bergeron's Collection.

† "Selon tout apparence, le Singara des auteurs Grecs. Le nom a aussi beaucoupde rapport avec le Sinear de la Bible."—*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 315, en 4to.

‡ Comp. of Anc. Geog. p. 433. 8vo.

place, with great accuracy, on the error of Ptolemy in placing it close to the Tigris, from which it is separated by a wide desert tract.*

It was here, on this plain, to the north of the mountain of Sinjār, that the great scientific undertaking, of measuring two degrees of the meridian, was carried into execution, under the Khalif Al-Mamoun, the result of which problem ascertained a terrestrial degree to be equal to fifty-seven Arabic miles.†

Throughout the whole range of the mountain of Sinjār, there is now no great town, but there are still many villages. Of these, however, very little is known, as neither Turks, Koords, nor Arabs, dare to venture among the Yezeedis, by whom the mountain is chiefly

* "Singara est une ville de grand consideration. Cellarius, apportant une attention scrupuleuse sur la nomenclature, remarque que le nom est au pluriel chez les écrivains Grecs, et l'emplacement près du Tigre; c'est bien ce qui est evident dans Ptolémée, mais non pas également dans la Table Théodosienne, où le nom et la position figurée comme les principales, ne tiennent point au Tigre, et en sont séparés par le desert, que le nom de Troglodoti dans la table paroit designer. Cette ville fut prise par Trajan, au rapport de Dion Cassius, et on la voit ensuite colonie Romaine, avec les surnoms d'*Aurelia* et de *Septimia*, qui se lisent sur les medailles."—*D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 50.

† D'Anville sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 121.

inhabited.* The largest town they have, is seated on an island, in the middle of a lake, called Cottoneah, which, by some, is said to be at the foot of the mountain in the plain, and by others, is reported to be in the hills. My curiosity had been strongly excited by a passage of Niebuhr, which speaks of a pyramid on this island, built in a very durable manner, and worthy the examination of travellers.†

All my inquiries on that head, however,

* "La montagne de Singiar, fertile en diverses sortes de fruits, est d'un accès très difficile, et la peuplade qui l'occupe met sur pied plus de six mille fusiliers, sans compter la cavalerie armée de lances. Il ne se passe guère d'année, que quelque grosse caravane ne soit dépouillée par cette tribu. Les Yézidis de cette montagne ont soutenu plusieurs guerres contre les pachas de Moussol et de Bagdad; dans ces occasions, après qu'il y a eu beaucoup de sang répandu de part et d'autre, le tout finit par s'arranger moyennant de l'argent. Ces Yézidis sont redoutés en tout lieu, à cause de leur cruauté: lorsqu'ils exercent leurs brigandages armés, ils ne se bornent pas à dépouiller les personnes qui tombent entre leurs mains, ils les tuent toutes sans exception; si dans le nombre il se trouve des *schérifs*, descendans de Mahomet, ou des docteurs musulmans, ils les font périr d'une manière plus barbare, et avec plus de plaisir, croyant acquérir par-là un plus grand mérite."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, pp. 206, 207.

† "A l'ouest de Sinjar, et dans un lac, il y a un petit ile, habitée par les Arabes, que l'on nomme Chatonie, et qui

brought me no satisfactory information of such a monument, though of the Lake Cottoneah, and of its central island, every body seemed to know, and all were agreed on the impossibility of any but a Yezeedi, or one under his protection, visiting it. The other towns are scattered over the eminences and valleys of the mountain, and some few are seated at the foot of it, along the edge of the plain.

The whole of this district of Sinjār, including both the mountain and the plain, is under the power of the Yezeedis, who call this their own peculiar home, and scarcely suffer strangers to live among them. There are, however, a few Jews, who reside in the town of Cottoneah, on the island in the lake, and act generally as brokers, for the sale and purchase of the plunder, which the Yezeedis bring in from their predatory excursions. Christians, too, can go among them, when under the escort of one of their body, as they themselves

tient au continent par une digue fort étroite. On y trouve une pyramide, batée d'une manière fort durable et qui merite peut-être que de voyageurs aillent la voir." He adds, "Otter avait pareillement entendu parler d'une pyramide dans cette contrée, mais il ne l'a pas vue lui-même."—*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. p. 316. 4to.

so far venerate the Christian religion, as to kiss the hands of the priests, when they visit them at Mardin and other towns. They take the sacrament of the Lord's supper also from them; and believing the wine to be the real blood of Jesus, are careful, while drinking it, not to suffer a drop of it to fall on the ground, or even on their beards.

There is no great head or chief of the Yezeedis, as a nation; but the people of the towns on the plain, and in the hills, have their own governors, distinct from the wanderers of the mountain. These stand in nearly the same relation to each other as the Town Arabs and the Desert ones, or cultivators and Bedouins. The people of the towns live by agriculture, and such trades and manufactures as are suited to their wants. The mountaineers are in tribes, with sheikhs at their heads, and live chiefly by the plunder of caravans; to obtain which, they descend from their hills, and intercept the passage of the high road. There are also some tribes scattered about the plain, even near to the borders of Mardin, and these lead the same kind of life. The mountaineers are said, however, to be the most savage and barbarous of the whole: they never trim their

mustachios or their beards, nor do they ever cut their hair; so that, as they go without any other covering than this on their heads, their appearance is quite conformable to their character. The difference which I had noticed in the physiognomy and complexions of the party of these Yezeedis, whom we met with at the khan in Orfah, must have been occasioned by this difference, of residing either in the mountain or on the plain. On the one, there is snow for a great portion of the year; on the other, the heat is equal to that of any part of the world; so that fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes might be produced under the same degree of latitude with the olive Indian colour, dark hair, and black eyes, each of which I had seen among them; these varieties arising only from the difference of elevation, on which the persons were born and brought up to manhood.

The holy city of these Yezeedis is said to be in the mountains of Koordistan, on the east of the Tigris; and another of their celebrated religious places is one, called Sheikh Khan, between Mousul and Amadia, to which they make an annual pilgrimage for the performance of some religious rites. The people of

the country say it happened, on one occasion, that a Turkish military commander surprised them at this place, when engaged in worship, by coming suddenly on them at night; and that, his force being too powerful for them to resist, they fled with great precipitation, leaving one of their sacred books behind them. Of this the Turkish officer took possession, and had even the patience to read some parts of it, so that it was probably written in Arabic; but finding it, as he said, to be full of infidelity and profanation, he destroyed it, on the same principle as that which instigated the Khalif Omar to order the burning of the Alexandrian Library, and Père Sicard to destroy the old Papyrus Manuscripts of Egypt. The general opinion is, that these Yezeedis have no sacred book; but this, when said by Mohammedans, simply means that they have neither the Bible, the New Testament, nor the Koran, for they acknowledge no other books as sacred. If, however, the anecdote of the Turkish officer be well founded, it is clear that they once had some religious code, and it is probable that they even still possess some written records, dogmas, or legends connected with their rites and faith.

Between the Lakes of Van and Shahee, in the north of Koordistan, beyond the mountains, and south of Armenia, there are said to be many Yezeedis settled, while others again are scattered along the banks of the Tigris, and in the road between Mousul and Bagdad.

It is not known whether the origin of this respect for the Devil, whom they call Chelibi, or "Il Signore," be from the ancient Persians, with a subsequent mixture of Christianity, or whether it is a remnant of the doctrine of the Manicheans, whose heresy flourished at Edessa. Their name, from Yezd, the evil principle, as opposed to Ormuzd, the good one, with many of their peculiarities of language and customs, would seem to give them a Persian origin; while, on the other hand, some of their superstitions are referable to the Manichean sect; and both of these again have undergone many changes, brought about partly, perhaps, by the residence of Jews in these towns, as they are still suffered to live among them at the present day, and partly by their mixture with Christians, as their country was once even the see of a Chaldean bishop.

At the close of our journey to-day, we opened the lofty mountains of Koordistan, the

highest point of the range of which is called Jebel Judee; and this is thought to be the spot on which the "Sefet-el-Noah," or the Ark of Noah, rested, after the "Wugt el Typhoon," or the time of the Deluge, as it is here expressed. This mountain is indeed exceedingly lofty, and, like many other points of the same range, was covered with one unbroken sheet of snow, for at least a third of the way down from the summit, although it was now the hottest season of the year, and the intense heat of the plains was scarcely bearable to an European. These mountains form the range seen from Diarbekr, going towards the south-east. They appear from hence to lie in a direction of nearly north and south, on the east of the Tigris. Their outlines are broken, and they present numerous beds or ridges, while the mountain of Sinjār is apparently only one great isolated mass, of even outline, and said to be composed of limestone.*

* In the Travels of De Haiton, as inserted in Bergeron's Collection, this mountain of Siniar, as it is there called, is noted as the easternmost range in the territory of Mesopotamia; and the scarcity of water in the plains near it is also remarked.

Our evening halt was made beside a small stream, and near a village called Chehel Aga, consisting of two portions of reed huts, and three or four divisions of tented dwellings.

As the rest of our way from hence to Mousul was said to be impassable, except by force, from the plain being always infested by Yezeedis, it became necessary to strengthen our means of defence; and accordingly a bargain was made with the Sheikh of the tribe, encamped at this place, to furnish us with eighty armed horsemen, to each of whom we were to pay three Spanish dollars for their protection as far as the banks of the Tigris, and to this sum every one in the caravan was to contribute in proportion to the value of the property which he had embarked in it; a proposition to which no one objected; as the zeal of religious hatred was added to a regard for personal safety in the minds of all.* The evening was therefore passed in collecting our

* " D'ailleurs les Mahométans sont dans la ferme persuasion que tout homme qui périt de la main d'un de ees seetaires, meurt martyr; aussi le prince d'Amadia a-t-il soin de tenir toujours auprès de lui un bourreau de eette nation, pour exéeuter les sentenees de mort eontre les Tures. Les Yézidis ont la même opinion relativement aux Tures, et la ehose est réciproque; si un Ture tue un

force, and in preparing our weapons for a fray; and at night we lay down to catch an hour's sleep, to recruit our strength and spirits for the march.*

Yézidi, il fait une action très-agréable à Dieu, et si un Yézidi tue un Turc, il fait une œuvre très-méritoire aux yeux du *Grand Scheikh*, c'est-à-dire du Diable."—*Notice sur les Yézidis*, p. 208.

* We were just now on the very spot where Dr. Rauwolff met the adventure described in a former note, (p. 456;) and, as the same fears existed with us, and kept us awake, in continual apprehension, the sequel of his adventure is worth giving, being as completely illustrative of the state of manners and character at the present day, as at the moment when it was first written, about two hundred and fifty years ago. The learned Doctor says: "So we kept awake all the rest of the night, and kept a good watch, and went on our journey again early the next morning about break of the day; and came again to wide and dry heaths, where we saw neither men nor beasts, and so we went on till noon, where we encamped in a large place, which was surrounded with walls and ditches pretty well, just like unto a fortress, whereof there are several in these dangerous places to be seen. When we staid there, two Curters [Koords] came again to us into our camp, and spoke to us, pretending that they came to demand the toll that was due there, it being their place: but our merchants soon perceived that they were not in a right cause, wherefore they would allow them nothing, which put these two into such a passion, that they drew their swords, and would have at us; but our friends did not stay idle neither, but took their swords away, and laid on with dry blows at them, and so flung them out of

All my efforts to get even half an hour's rest were, however, unavailing. We were roused by the signals of the guards, and the

our camp. After this hubbub was over, we dined, and that the rather that we might not be too much weakened by our hard travelling, and so be the less able to resist these robbers, for want of strength, if they should fall upon us, which we were not wont to do before night, chiefly in great deserts, for there we used to get up presently after midnight, and travel all day long with all speed without eating, which I had often experimented before; wherefore I used to provide myself always with bread, and when I had a mind to eat it, I did either stay behind or go before; for nobody eats openly by the way in the sight of others, except he has a mind to run a hazard, because that most of them are very hungry and so eager at it, that they will assault one another for it, and take it away from their very mouths. After we had refreshed ourselves, and fed our beasts, which useth to be done also but once a day, we broke up with our caravan, and went on again. We quickly saw some mountains before us, where, when we approached them towards the evening, there appeared sometimes, on a high one, that before the rest lieth nearer to the plain, some of them, so that we might very well presume that there was more of them behind in ambuscado, which also proved very true: for, no sooner were we past it, but before we went up the hill, they came out from behind the mountain, in great troops on horseback, which immediately drew up into order in the fields, in two squadrons, three and three in a rank, to the number of about three hundred, almost as many as we were. They exercised their horses, which were very lank, very swiftly, turned sometimes on one, and then on the

shouts of the picquets stationed at the out-posts, almost every ten minutes during the night. Sometimes, the alarm was well-founded, and nothing but a general muster and display of our force, in a state for immediate

other hand, and come at length to us within a bow's shot. They had most of them darts, which they played withal in their full speed, sometimes holding it downwards, as if they would run through a deer, which was a pleasant but very dangerous sight to us. When they shewed themselves, so as if they would fall upon us instantly, we drew our caravan close together, in order to resist them. Wherefore we stood still, and tied our beasts together, and bound the fore feet of each of them, that they could not stir; behind them stood our mockery, [Mookeri, or camel drivers,] with their bows, and all those that were not well provided with arms and horses either to shoot at the enemy, or else, in case of necessity, if they should come too near us, to sally out, and cut off their horses with our scymitars. Near unto us our horses were drawn up into a troop, ready for their assault, to venture their success. After a whole hour's delay, we sent at length two of our company to them, and they sent also two of theirs to meet them to parley together; but which way they made up an agreement I know not, but they prevailed so much with them, that soon after they left us, and rode away, and we went on in our journey. After this, we kept our caravan, (that is so much as to say, a great many people, with loaden camels, asses, and horses,) in far better order than we had done before, and came that same day a good way to a small village, where we encamped and staid all night."—pp. 169—171.

action, prevented the attacks of several bodies of Koords, formed in different quarters to assail us; at other times, the alarm was groundless, and arose from the idle discharges of pistols and muskets within our own camp: between both, however, sleep, or even bodily repose, was unattainable; so that I burned with impatience to commence our dangerous march.

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